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ART. I. *A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation viewed in Connexion with the Modern Astronomy.* By Thomas Chalmers, D. D. Minister of the Tron Church, Glasgow. 8vo. pp. 276. Price 8s. Longman and Co., &c. 1817.

IF infidelity is so busily and zealously intent on its purpose, that no means of offence against Revelation can be too inconsiderable to be eagerly seized for the use of the warfare, it may be conceived what a value will be set on any reinforcements that can be obtained from the dignified resources of the sublimest science. If the pettiest quibbles, if witticisms, smart or dull, or the lying wonders of popery, or Chinese chronology, or the virtues of Mahomedans and Pagans, are all welcome for the array against Christianity, what proud exultation may well be felt at the view of any possibility of engaging 'the stars in their 'courses to fight against' it.

Any possible result of this ambitious attempt, may be awaited by the believer in Christianity, with perfect tranquillity. He stands on a ground so independent of science, that nothing within the *possibility* of scientific speculation and discovery can essentially affect it. A train of miracles, attested in the most authoritative manner that is within the competence of history; the evidence afforded by prophecies fulfilled, that the Author of Revelation is the Being who sees into futurity; the manifestation, in revealed religion, of a super-human knowledge of the nature and condition of man; the adaptation of the remedial system to that condition; the incomparable excellence of the Christian morality; the analogy between the Works of God, and what claims to be the Word of God; and the interpositions with respect to the Cause and the adherents of religion in the course of the Divine government on the earth:—this grand coincidence of verifications has not left the faith of the disciple of Christianity at the mercy of optics and geometry. He may

calmly tell science to mind its own affairs, if it should presume, with pretensions to authority, to interfere with his religion.

He may content himself thus to repel the arrogance of science, when it intrudes in the spirit of a proud and inimical interference. But if, in a large and enlightened contemplation, it is found that science comes to be in harmony with religion, and even to subserve and magnify it, such tribute and alliance are by all means to be accepted. All wise men will protest against that feeling which some good men seem willing to entertain, as if the more limited and exclusive a thing religion could be made, the better ; a feeling which may have sometimes been heard to utter itself in expressions like these : ‘ Beware of ‘ losing your religion in those delusive vanities to which you ‘ give the denomination of enlarged views, sublime contempla- ‘ tions, and the like. What have we, or our religion, to do with ‘ the Universe, or its fancied inhabitants ? The business of reli- ‘ gion is the salvation of our souls ; and if we are duly attentive ‘ to that concern, we shall have no time or inclination for vain ‘ speculations about the economy of other worlds and races, ‘ about the moral condition of people in the stars.’ It is easy to reply, by remarking, that the amazing fact, placed within the evidence of our senses, of the existence of a countless and inconceivable multitude of worlds, each of them of a magnitude to which ours is but an insignificant ball, cannot be thus lightly disposed of, but demands a sentiment corresponding to such a fact ; that, as one Being has created and sustains them all, they may rationally be conceived to constitute one system, in the sense of being formed and arranged on a scheme which combines them all in a relation to one another, in reference, at least, to an ultimate effect or object which they are co-operating to accomplish ; that, if any principles or illustrative phenomena of this grand union can be described, they are obviously available for the loftiest purposes of religion ; that, whether they can or not, the amazing vision of the Universe simply, in its mere mass and infinity of magnificence, tends mightily to exalt our conception of the Divinity ; and that, therefore, to affect to render so much the greater homage to the principle and purpose of religion, in regarding the grandeur of the Universe as quite foreign to it, would more justly incur the suspicion of contractedness of intellect, than claim to be regarded as a concentration of piety, too intent on the personal interest of religion to go so far abroad in imagination.

In this series of discourses, it appears to be quite as much the eloquent Author's object to co-extend the truths and feelings of revealed religion, with the demonstrations and speculations of astronomy, to the utmost vastness of its field, thus at once giving the amplitude of the science to religion, and the sanctity of reli-

gion to the science,—as to defend religion against the objections attempted to be drawn from the discoveries of astronomy.\*

\* Most of our readers will recollect that the topic, especially in this latter view, has been treated at considerable length, and with great ability, by the late Mr. A. Fuller, in a chapter entitled, *The Consistency of the Scripture Doctrine of Redemption with the modern opinion of the Magnitude of Creation*, in his book, *The Gospel its own Witness*. In that chapter are to be found, in a brief condensed form, several of the arguments and illustrations so ingeniously and splendidly amplified in the discourses of Dr. C. and it may be recommended to accompany the study of the Doctor's work. Very forcible in argument as that essay is, in parts it appears to us, nevertheless, to be marked with the characteristic defects of the strong and excellent writer,—a want of comprehensive expansion of thought, and an unwarranted positiveness in assumptions and inferences. Throughout the discussion, it is evident the writer has a most inefficient conception of the magnificence of the Universe. The idea does not in the least either elate or overwhelm his mind. There is no earnest, exulting, still confounded, still renewed endeavour to go out in contemplation of the stupendous and awful vision; no amazement or rapture at this manifestation of the immensity of the creating and sustaining power; no full impression of the demonstrated and almost infinite insignificance of this planet, as a material object. He admits, in terms marked by no emphasis, and betraying no delight, that there may be probability in the theory of 'a multiplying city of worlds, inhabited by intelligent beings,' but seems unwilling that probability should have its full effect, for he throws in, for the purpose of counteraction, the loose and not very pertinent remark that, 'It is an opinion that has taken place of other opinions, which in their day were admired by the philosophical part of mankind as much as this is in ours.'—Even setting aside the idea of inhabitants, and a moral economy of so many worlds, he no where uses language implying any thing at all approaching to a proper recognition of the plain facts and certainties of modern astronomy, as to the mere extent of the Creation. It may be suspected that he had a degree of horror of so vast a contemplation.

If we are correct in these remarks, it follows that the acute Author was not well qualified for the discussion, since he could not be adequately sensible of the extent of the difficulty, as arising from the stupendous magnitude of the Universe. For the extent of view that he takes, he reasons with great force, and some parts of his reasoning will justly apply to the subject in the amplest view in which it is possible to contemplate it; but in estimating the whole effect of the essay, we are constrained to feel that millions of worlds, or rather millions of systems of worlds, are not to be wielded by that kind of short straight-forward logic, by which the excellent Author was so successful on some subjects.

His facility and confidence of assumption are shewn in some most unqualified, unhesitating assertions, (in the way of interpretation of, or inference from, some passages of Scripture, of uncertain extent of

The first half of the performance, however, keeps in view the argument against Christianity, which 'does not,' our Author

meaning,) that the attention of the whole intelligent Creation is occupied with the condition and salvation of the human race: and the assertions are made in that easy tone in which we pronounce an ordinary and unquestionable truth which involves no manner of difficulty.

It appears to us one of the most obvious characteristics of Mr. Fuller's mind, that he was but little sensible of the *mystery* of any subject, or of the difficulties arising in the view of its deep and remote relations,—or if we may use the fashionable term, *bearings*. To a certain extent, and that unquestionably a respectable one, he apprehended and reasoned with admirable clearness and force; and he could not, or would not, surmise that any thing of importance in the *rationale* of the subject extended beyond that compass: he made therefore his propositions, his deductions, his conclusions, quite in the tone of a complacent self-assurance of being perfectly master of the subject: while in fact the subject might involve wider and remoter considerations, not indeed easily reducible to the plain tangible predicaments of his rough, confined logic, but essential to a comprehensive speculation, and, very possibly, of a nature to throw great dubiousness on the judgement which he had so decidedly formed, and positively pronounced, on a too contracted view of the subject.

The last paragraph but one of this essay, or section, affords a striking example of the cool confident facility with which this respectable Author could sometimes dispose of the most mysterious and awful subjects, by the help of a false analogy. Observing that the final misery of the wicked is, as a part of the Divine Government, satisfactorily accounted for on the principle of the necessity of an example of justice, for the contemplation of God's other intelligent subjects, even though there should *not* be so many of them as to inhabit a multiplicity of worlds,—he adds, that nevertheless that part of the Divine Government is placed in a still more satisfactory light, if it be true that there is such a vast population of the universe, for that then the disproportion may be so much the greater between the number of the beings who eternally suffer, and the number of the other beings who are to benefit from those sufferings: insomuch that 'to those who judge of things impartially, and upon an extensive scale, it [this final perdition] will appear to contain no more of a disparagement to the government of the universe, than the execution of a murderer, once in a hundred years, would be to the government of a nation.'

It is very wonderful how so acute a writer should deem such a comparison adapted for a triumphant close of the discussion. How did he fail to perceive the enormous fallacy introduced by adding rare and momentary occurrence to diminutiveness of number? how fail to perceive that any analogy must be infinitely absurd which should not include *perpetual* suffering, and that in the identical being? The case indeed admitted of no analogy; since no parallel represen-

says, 'occupy a very pre-eminent place in any of our Treatises of Infidelity, but is often met with in conversation; and we have known it to be the cause of serious perplexity and alarm in minds anxious for the solid establishment of their religious faith.'

'This argument involves in it an assertion and an inference. The assertion is, that Christianity is a religion which professes to be designed for the single benefit of our world: and the inference is, that God cannot be the Author of this religion, for he would not lavish on so insignificant a field such peculiar and such distinguishing attentions as are ascribed to him in the Old and New Testament.'

To meet the objectors in the fullest, boldest manner, but also with the further and higher purpose, no doubt, of aiding the mind in its apprehension of that Spirit who is the sovereign possessor of all existence, the preacher commences with a magnificent view of the Modern Astronomy. Great indeed may well be the dismay of those religious persons who dread and detest being disturbed in the indolent quietude of their little homestead of thought, the narrow range of ideas which can be surveyed without an effort,—at hearing it demanded that the theory of religion be expanded to the compass of taking account of the Universe, a scene which, whatever may be its limits, is, as to the human power of comprehension, much the same as infinite, and demanded, for the plain reason, that religion being the intellectual apprehension and the moral sentiment due to God, and this idea and sentiment being justly required to correspond to the whole of the manifestations which that Being has made of his glory, the lustre and immensity of such manifestations, presented through the entire visible creation, place all that creation within the cognizance of religion; so that a religion which should decline to include these innumerable and far-off displays of Deity within its comprehension, in forming its conception of the attributes, the works, and the government of the Almighty, would therein choose to content itself with a less glorious idea of him, and to offer him a less sublime worship, than that Being has given us the means to form and to offer.

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tation could be made without introducing the impossible supposition of a mortal criminal, kept perpetually alive to undergo the pains of a perpetual execution.

In closing this note, which has grown to a length very far beyond our intention, we do not think it requisite to use many words in avowal of our high estimate of the intellect and the general energy of mind of the distinguished and lamented divine: who, indeed, has any *other* estimate? But neither can there need any apology to even his warmest friends, for the expression of an opinion in which probably more than a few will coincide, that his writings are too often marked with an assumption, and an air of having perfectly disposed of the matter, which could barely be allowed in a mind of the very largest comprehension.

While, however, such a representation may be received ungraciously by minds that have never once surmised such a thing as an obligation enforced upon our religion, as to the extent of its contemplations, by the remotest stars discovered by the telescope, we are very confident that many serious but partially cultivated persons, who have been impatient of the conscious narrowness of the scope of their religious ideas, will be greatly and devotionally benefited by this sublime introductory discourse of Dr. Chalmers.

In advancing into the regions of astronomy, in the spirit of religion, he takes both his text and his tone from a writer in whose mind the magnificence of the modern astronomy, could its wonders have been revealed to him, would have but inspired a so much the more exalted devotion.

‘ The Psalmist takes a still loftier flight. He leaves the world, and lifts his imagination to that mighty expanse which spreads above it and around it. He wings his way through space, and wanders in thought over its immeasurable regions. Instead of a dark and unpeopled solitude, he sees it crowded with splendour, and filled with the energy of the Divine presence. Creation rises in its immensity before him, and the world, with all which it inherits, shrinks into littleness at a contemplation so vast and so overpowering. He wonders that he is not overlooked amid the grandeur and the variety which are on every side of him ; and passing upward from the majesty of nature, to the majesty of nature’s Architect, he exclaims, “ What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him ? ” ’

‘ There is much in the scenery of a nocturnal sky, to lift the soul to pious contemplation. That moon, and these stars, what are they ? They are detached from the world, and they lift you above it. You feel withdrawn from the earth, and rise in lofty abstraction above this little theatre of human passions and human anxieties. The mind abandons itself to reverie, and is transferred in the ecstasy of its thoughts, to distant and unexplored regions. It sees nature in the simplicity of her great elements, and it sees the God of nature invested with the high attributes of wisdom and majesty. ’

‘ But what can these lights be ? The curiosity of the human mind is insatiable, and the mechanism of these wonderful heavens, has, in all ages been its subject and its employment. It has been reserved for these latter times, to resolve this great and interesting question. The sublimest powers of philosophy have been called to the exercise, and astronomy may now be looked on as the most certain and best established of the sciences. ’

The rapid and comprehensive ‘ Sketch,’ which is quite in the manner of a person familiar with the speculations and facts of astronomy, begins with the planets of our sun, and the philosophic Divine illustrates the very strong probability of their being inhabited. He argues from their magnitude, and their several striking points of analogy to this world of ours. They

have their movements on their own axes, their regular periodical revolutions round the sun, and their vicissitudes of seasons. Several of them have moons to alleviate the darkness of their night.

‘ We can see of one, that its surface rises into inequalities, that it swells into mountains and stretches into valleys; of another, that it is surrounded with an atmosphere which may support the respiration of animals; of a third, that clouds are formed and suspended over it, which may minister to it all the bloom and luxuriance of vegetation; and of a fourth, that a white colour spreads over its northern regions, as its winter advances, and that on the approach of summer this whiteness is dissipated—giving room to suppose, that the element of water abounds in it, that it rises by evaporation into its atmosphere, that it freezes upon the application of cold, that it is precipitated in the form of snow, that it covers the ground with a fleecy mantle, which melts away from the heat of a more vertical sun; and that other worlds bear a resemblance to our own in the same yearly round of beneficent and interesting changes.’

We will acknowledge some little defect of sympathy with the delight which Dr. C. expresses at the ascertainment of so very close an analogy as indicated in this last instance. Really this downright ‘ fleecy’ phenomenon of winter falls somewhat chilly on that animated visionary and half poetical idea, which we should have been better pleased to have been permitted to entertain of the physical condition of the inhabitants of these other worlds. This hemisphere of snow not only shuts down too much in the way of an extinguisher on that enchanting imagery of a local economy in which the imagination would have loved to place those unknown races of beings, and forcibly suggests ideas of dreariness, hardships, and even morbid physical affections, and hostility to life; it would also, as possibly or probably accompanied by these physical evils, seem too ominous of something much worse. The mind is forced to admit some fearful surmise of the too possible existence, in those worlds, of that horrible thing which has blasted the natural beauties and delights, and mainly created the natural evils, of these terrestrial scenes. An analogy so very close to an order of elemental nature which in this world inflicts so much inconvenience and suffering, in which suffering, though immediately inflicted by the instrumentality of the elements, we have the effect of sin, must throw us on the ground of some abstracted moral considerations, to maintain our obstinate hope that this infernal plague has not invaded the people of those abodes.

The passage we have transcribed is followed by one in which, highly picturesque as it is, the Doctor’s elated imagination has carried him into a very palpable extravagance, in conjecturing such possibilities of improvement in the artificial subsidiaries to sight, as shall bring at last to our perception the green of the

planetary vegetation, the dead wintry hue induced by its disappearance, the marks of cultivation extending over tracts previously wild, and even the cities forming the central seats of mighty empires. Were we obliged to go the whole length which analogy might seem to lead in shaping to our imaginations the economy of those regions, might we not reasonably be glad that such distinctness of detection as our Author is willing to anticipate, is physically impossible, lest there should otherwise have been some danger of our having at length the mortification to descry such things as munitions of war, or idol's temples, or popish cathedrals?

There can be no scruple in assuming, as a general principle, that it is in the highest degree improbable the Almighty Spirit should have constructed vast fabrics of Matter, to remain disconnected from Mind, as a conscious power to which those fabrics may be available for use. Useless to the Creator himself, they would be useless absolutely, if not serving to the purpose of the occupancy, and support, and activity, and contemplation, of sentient intelligent creatures. Prodigious orbs, disposed too in the order and movement of system, but thus desolate, and dead, and merely running vast circles in space, would really suggest something like the idea (we speak with reverence) of the Creator's amusing himself with an ingenious contrivance.—Any notion that the other planets of the solar system were created for the use of this earth, would be now too ridiculous for the grossest ignorance to dream.

When to this consideration, of the extreme improbability of immense conformations of matter being made to be devoid of the occupancy of mind, is added the whole account of the ascertained points of analogy between the other planets and our own, we think that, excepting to minds repugnant to magnificent ideas, the probability that the other orbs of our system are inhabited worlds, must appear so great, that a direct revelation from heaven declaring the fact, would make but very little difference in our assurance of it.

Following the discoveries of science no further than the limits of this solar system, we behold them, says Dr. C.,

‘—widening the empire of creation far beyond the limits which were formerly assigned to it. They give us to see that yon sun, throned in the centre of his planetary system, gives light, and warmth, and the vicissitude of seasons, to an extent of surface several hundreds of times greater than that of the earth which we inhabit. They lay open to us a number of worlds, rolling in their respective circles round this vast luminary—and prove, that the ball which we tread upon, with all its mighty burden of oceans and continents, instead of being distinguished from the others, is among the least of them; and, from some of the more distant planets, would not occupy a visible point in the concave of their firmament. They let us know that

though this mighty earth, with all its myriads of people, were to sink into annihilation, there are some worlds where an event so awful to us would be unnoticed and unknown, and others where it would be nothing more than the disappearance of a little star which had ceased from its twinkling.'

But how humiliating it is to the proud ambition of the human faculties, that thus we are already almost overwhelmed with images of grandeur when we have hardly made a first step, hardly an infant's step, in that stupendous excursion to which the mind is summoned forth,—summoned, not by wild fancy or poetry, but by grave peremptory science, with a plain austerity as if in scorn that such a thing as poetry should have been suffered to pretend to a loftier sublimity than truth and fact. It is indeed most striking to observe how all the sublimities of imagination and invention dwindle and grow dim as placed in comparative measurement against the virtual infinity of the system of visible existence; as brought into the converging light of indefinite millions of suns. It is not only that this immensity of splendid material substance has, simply so contemplated, an overpowering magnificence, rendered inconceivably more august by the accession of the idea that intelligent beings in multitudes beyond all knowledge, or calculation, or conjecture, of any intelligence but One, dwell in the universe of daylight emanating from all these luminaries: the ultimate sublimity of all this glory of material existence is, that it gives the sign every where, through its immeasurable extent, of the presence of Another Existence. The mystery of a pure Spirit, infinite, and yet bearing no relation to place, so confounds the understanding, and something at least *analogous* to vast extension is so necessary to our conception of magnitude of being, that the mind is glad, in essaying to contemplate the greatness of the Divine Essence, to accept in aid *the effect* of boundless local extension, in the way of a distinct recognition of that Essence as present in one, and in another, and in each, and in all, of the material glories of an indefinite Universe: and this it can in some measure do, or at least is beguiled to feel as if it could, without directly attributing to that Spirit a physical mode of extension from one part and one limit of the creation to another and the opposite. Thus the material Universe, with all its splendours and magnitudes, ascertained, conjectured, or possible, may be regarded—not as a vehicle, not as an inhabited form, or a comprehending sphere, of the Sovereign Spirit, but as a type, which signifies, though by a faint, inadequate correspondence after all, that as great as the Universe is in the material attributes of extension and splendour, so great is the Divine Being in the infinitely transcendent nature of spiritual existence. The least and narrowest idea to be entertained is, that *in this*

*spiritual and transcendent mode* the predominating intelligence has the extension of the Universe.—What emphasis will such a view give to the sentence of the poet,

‘ An undevout astronomer is mad.’

And yet how seldom do we find the magnificent images of astronomy brightened into still nobler lustre by the spirit of piety which gives them so consecrated a character in the work of Dr. C.

From the solar system the inquiring contemplation is carried to those other countless luminaries, all shining from such an inconceivable distance. The preacher passes rapidly, and with a commanding reach of thought, over the most wonderful facts and speculations of the subject. The distance is the first of the facts which so defy human comprehension.

‘ If the whole planetary system were lighted up into a globe of fire, it would appear only a small lucid point from the nearest of the fixed stars. If a body were projected from the sun with the velocity of a cannon-ball, it would take hundreds of thousands of years before it described that mighty interval which separates the nearest of them from our sun and our system. If this earth, which moves at more than the inconceivable velocity of a million and a half miles a day, were to be hurried from its orbit, and to take the same rapid flight over this immense tract, it would not have arrived at the termination of its journey after taking all the time which has elapsed since the creation of the world. These are great numbers, and great calculations, and the mind feels its own impotency in attempting to grasp them. We can state them in words; we can exhibit them in figures; we can demonstrate them by the powers of a most rigid and infallible geometry. But no human fancy can summon up a lively or an adequate conception.’

The immense magnitude, so demonstrated, of those stars; their shining with their own light; the ‘ periodical variations of ‘ light’ observed in some of them, as a probable indication of a revolution, as in the case of our own solar star, on their own axes; authorize a most undoubting assumption, (opposed by no argument, and confirmed by the consideration that so much the mightier is the display of the Creator’s glory,) that they are all the central lights of so many systems.

As to their number, ‘ the unassisted eye can take in a thousand, and the best telescope which the genius of man has constructed, can take in eighty millions.’ And nothing, as our Author suggests, could be more irrational than to fancy that the utmost number of such luminaries comprised in the Universe, must be just that number which the people of one of the planets of one of the suns, have, at a particular period of time, contrived optical instruments competent for descrying. Quite as reasonable would the assumption have been upon the discoveries by

means of the first telescope that was made, as upon those of Herschel. When we reflect what kind of creature it is to whose view thus much of the Universe has been disclosed,—that the physical organ of this very perception, is of such a nature that it might, in consequence of the extinction of life, be reduced to dust within a few short days after it had admitted rays from the stars ; while, as to his mental part, he is, besides his moral debasement, at the very bottom of the gradation of probably innumerable millions of intellectual races (certainly at the bottom, since a being inferior to man in intellect, could not be rational)—when we think of this, it will appear utterly improbable that the portion of the Universe which such a creature can take knowledge of, should be more than a very diminutive tract in the vast expansion of existence. And if the subject be considered in reference to the Supreme Originating Power, the probability becomes indefinitely stronger, that beyond the sphere of our perceptions, enlarged as it is by artificial aids, there is all but infinitely more of material existence than there is within its compass. It being demonstrated by that vastness of material glory which is ascertained to exist, that magnitude and multitude were of the essence of the Creator's plan, we are well authorized in the assurance that the magnitude and the multitude must be on the most transcendent scale, a scale approaching as near toward a correspondence to the infinite supremacy of his own nature, as finiteness of one nature can (if we may be pardoned such expedients of expression) towards infiniteness of another. It is therefore but little to say, that the material creation is probably of such an extent that the greatest of created beings not only have never yet been able to survey it all, but never will to all eternity. For must it not be one great object in the Creator's design, that this magnitude should make a sublime and awful impression on his intelligent creatures ? But if the magnitude is to make this impression, what would be the impression made on created spirits by their coming to the end, the boundary, of this magnitude ? It is palpable that this latter impression must counteract the former. So that if the stupendous extension of the works of God was intended and adapted to promote, in the contemplations of the highest intelligences, an indefinitely glorious though still incompetent conception of the Divine infinity, the ascertaining of the limit, the distinct perception of the finiteness, of that manifestation of power, would tend with a dreadful force to repress and annihilate that conception ; and it may well be imagined that if an exalted adoring spirit could ever in eternity find himself at that limit, the perception would inflict inconceivable horror.—In short, this is the subject on which it is purely impossible to be extravagant, in the way of simple amplification and aggravation

of thought. And there is not the slightest transgression of sobriety in the language of our Author, when he speaks of ' those mighty tracts, which shoot far beyond what eye hath seen or the heart of man conceived—which sweep endlessly along, and merge into an awful and mysterious infinity ;—or when he adopts the conjecture, in explanation of the *nebulæ*, that the fixed stars,

‘—instead of lying uniformly, and in a state of equi-distance from each other, are arranged into distinct clusters ; that in the same manner as the distance of the nearest fixed stars, so inconceivably superior to our planets, from each other, marks the separation of the solar, so the distance of two contiguous clusters may be so inconceivably superior to the reciprocal distance of those fixed stars which belong to the same cluster, as to mark an equally distinct separation of the clusters, and to constitute each of them an individual member of some higher and more extended arrangement.’

— or when, admonishing the philosopher against pride in the great discoveries of astronomy, he reminds him that there is

‘ an unscaled barrier, beyond which no power either of eye or of telescope shall ever carry him ; that on the other side there is a height, and a depth, and a length, and a breadth, to which the whole of this concave and visible firmament, dwindleth into the insignificancy of an atom ; and though all which the eye of man can take in, or his fancy grasp at, were swept away, there might still remain as ample a field over which the Divinity may expatiate, and which he may have peopled with innumerable worlds. If the whole visible creation were to disappear, it would leave a solitude behind it—but to the Infinite Mind, that can take in the whole system of nature, this solitude might be nothing, a small unoccupied point in that immensity which surrounds it, and which he may have filled with the wonders of his omnipotence. Though this earth were to be burned up, though the trumpet of its dissolution were sounded, though yon sky were to pass away as a scroll, and every visible glory which the finger of the Divinity has inscribed on it, were to be put out for ever—an event, so awful to us and to every world in our vicinity, by which so many suns would be extinguished, and so many varied scenes of life and of population would rush into forgetfulness—what is it in the high scale of the Almighty’s workmanship ? a mere shred, which, though scattered into nothing, would leave the universe of God one entire scene of greatness and of majesty.’

We may be sure, as we have already suggested, that each of the elements of the manifestation of an Infinite Being, will do him justice thus far, that it will have a practical infiniteness relatively to the capacities of his intelligent creatures ; that the utmost that will be permitted to the comprehension of these intelligences, will be the mere abstract truth that some of these elements cannot, from their very nature, be literally infinite ; that their amazement will be eternally augmented by the very

circumstance of this sublime enigma, of an element which must thus by its nature be limited, and yet leaves them all, through the eternity of their experiments and excursions, as far from any sensible approach to the verification of the limit, as at the first step they made into the mysterious expansion. But if we take our conjecture of the intellectual magnitude, and the probable excursive powers, of the highest of the created beings, from the consideration of the infinite power and beneficence of the Creator, and of what it is rationally probable that such a Being would create in the nature of mental existences, to admire, adore, and serve him, we shall be warranted to imagine beings to whom it may be possible exultingly to leave sun-beams far behind them in the rapidity of their career, from systems to systems still beyond. And if we add to the account the equal probability of a perpetual augmentation of their powers in a ratio correspondent to a magnitude already so stupendous, and crown it with the idea of an indefatigable exertion of those powers in discovery and contemplation of the Creator's manifestations through everlasting ages—there will then be required a Universe to which all that the telescope has descried is but as an atom; a Universe of which it shall not be within the *possibilities* of any intelligence less than the Infinite to know,

‘Where rears the Terminating Pillar high  
‘Its extramundane head.’

We need not dwell on the considerations, on the ground of which Dr. C. insists it would be most absurd to disbelieve, absurd even to doubt, that this boundless multitude of worlds, this scene of Almighty power and glory, is populous through all its systems with contemplators and worshippers of the Divinity.

If such a representation give, after all, but an infinitely feeble glimmer of the truth, respecting the magnitude of the Creation, we may, in the name of both sense and piety, assume, with the utmost confidence, to repeat our reprobation of that mode of religious faith and sentiment, which would pretend to have so much the more of celestial light for excluding the beams of all the stars. *What* is it, we would ask, that comes upon us in those beams,—in the beams of those luminaries which are beheld by the naked eye, next of those countless myriads beheld by the assisted eye, and then of those infinite legions which can never be revealed to the earth, but are seen by an elevated imagination, and will perhaps burst with sudden and awful effulgence on the departed spirit? *What* is it, but the pure unmixed reflection of Him who cannot be beheld in himself,

who, present to all things, is yet in the darkness of infinite and eternal mystery, subsisting in an essence unparticipated, unapproached by gradation of other beings, impalpable to all speculation, refined beyond angelic perception, foreign from all analogy—but who condescends to become visible in the *effects* of his nature, in the lustre of his *works*? And is it not, we ask again, one of the grand difficulties in religion, and one of the things most ardently to be desired, to obtain a glorious idea of the Divinity, passing afar from that littleness and anthropomorphism which so confine and degrade our contemplations and devotions? It cannot but be one of the plainest *duties* of religion, to aspire to the attainment of such an idea. And therefore a strong remonstrance may justly be directed to the *conscience* of a professed worshipper who cares not how little of the element of sublimity there may be in his conception of the adorable Object,—who feels no *religious* mortification to think that the grandest idea of the Almighty which he does effectually realize in his mind, is in all probability prodigiously below what would be the true and full representative idea of one of the highest angels.

We have expatiated thus out of all proportion on the first part of this interesting volume, from a consideration of the unquestionable fact, that there is among serious persons a quite *irreligious* neglect of one of the two grand forms of Divine Revelation, the Word and the Works of the Almighty; and that even among Christian teachers there is often a very unthinking and ill-discriminating mode of depreciating the latter, in the comparison; a practice against which they might have been warned by observing the endless references in the Word of that Being to his Works; and by observing how very often the Word rests the fulness of the meaning of its dictates and illustrations upon an adequate view of the Works. They might have been made aware to what a littleness of significance a thousand expressions in the Bible, relating to the Deity himself, are reduced by a want of extended and admiring ideas of the labours, if we may so express it, and the magnificent empire, of the Sovereign Spirit. They might have been taught to suspect that it must be a very doubtful Christian excellence to be but little in sympathy with those devout minds which, in the very condition and act of being the channels of Divine communication to mankind, were so often elated at the view of suns and starry heavens, even at a period when the vision of those wonders was littleness itself in comparison of that magnificence to which science has now expanded it.—Not, assuredly, that Christian teachers should become deep students in science, or lecturers on astronomy; but the great elementary views of the universe are of

easy attainment, and have a simplicity readily available for magnifying our contemplations, and our representations, of the Divine Majesty. We trust Dr. C.'s work will prove in this respect of very eminent value and use to the religious public.

(To be concluded in the next Number.)

Art. II. 1. *The History of Ceylon*, from the Earliest Period, to the Year 1815; with Characteristic Details of the Religion, Laws, and Manners of the People; and a Collection of their Moral Maxims and Ancient Proverbs. By Philalethes, A. M. Oxon. To which is subjoined; *Robert Knox's Historical Relation of the Island*, with an Account of his Captivity, during a Period of near Twenty Years. Portrait, Map, and Plates, 4to. Mawman. London, 1817.

2. *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial, and Financial Interests of Ceylon*. With an Appendix; containing some of the Principal Laws and Usages of the Candians; Port and Custom-house Regulations; Tables of Exports and Imports, Public Revenue and Expenditure, &c. &c. By Anthony Bertolacci, Esq. 8vo. 18s. Black and Co. London, 1817.

THE geographical position of the Island of Ceylon, is too generally known, to need even a reference on the present occasion, and the political and commercial advantages of its situation, are scarcely less obvious. To a great naval power its importance is inestimable. The resources which it supplies in various materials for the construction and outfit of ships, the magnitude, safety, and advantageous disposition of its harbours, the strength of its fortresses, and the various aspect of its coast, render it the key and arsenal of maritime India.

Ceylon was well known to the ancients, and has never since been lost sight of by navigators. It has, for a long period of time, been held, to a considerable extent, in military possession, by different European powers, and is now under the general sovereignty of the British nation. Much, it must be admitted, is known respecting this interesting island; it has been explored at various times, and in all directions, by ambassadors, merchants, captives, and invading armies; and yet, much still remains to be done, before our knowledge of its history, territory, and productions, can be considered as complete. The Author of the "History" now prefixed to Robert Knox's narrative, has drawn his chief materials from Valeutyn, a very honest as it should seem, but a very tedious Dutchman, whose notions of literary importance, appear to have been adjusted by a scale adapted to estimate not its value but its bulk. Without having

seen this 'famous work on the East Indies,' the bare record of its size is ominous of evil ; the 'great vision' of 'five very large volumes in folio,' is sufficient to appal a reviewer ; the slim shelves of a modern library would break down beneath their weight ; and though the bookmaker may regret that the patience of readers and the simplicity of purchasers in Valentyn's day, are passed away, the student, to whom time is a serious consideration, and who has learned the value and importance of compression in the conveyance of instruction, will be sufficiently aware that a sound discretion exercised in the selection of materials, would have enabled the worthy Hollander to feel himself quite at ease in much more limited quarters. Philalethes, as he quaintly styles himself, the *getter-up* of the first of these articles, seems to have taken a lesson, not from Valentyn indeed, but from some far more desperate bookmaker. A republication of Knox's captivity, in a purchasable style, was much wanted, but in its present form it is placed shamefully out of general reach. The very unnecessary minuteness of the table of contents pre-fixed to each chapter of the "History," together with the countless and enormous blanks throughout the whole, add very materially to the size of the volume. Independently of these objectionable artifices, the book is valuable ; the History is a respectable compilation, and conveys considerable information in an intelligible shape. The narrative of Knox has been praised too often to require eulogy. It is marked in every part with the signature of an honest, vigorous, and observant mind. There is a picturesque simplicity in the descriptions, which has frequently reminded us of the *true fictions* of Defoe. Mr. Bertolacci's volume is full of important matter, put together by a man of ability and acquisition. The general matter of the "View," is of course somewhat dry and official in its detail ; but the comments and inferences are interesting and judicious, and the occasional notices which refer to subjects more generally attractive, exhibit so much acquaintance with the common topics of inquiry, that we shall hope for another volume from Mr. Bertolacci's hand, in illustration of the history, character, and habits of the people. The information which we possess respecting Ceylon, has by no means been given in a satisfactory form ; the three quartos of Messrs. Percival and Cordiner, contain, in their genuine substance, the mere quantum of a duodecimo, and might be altogether superseded without much loss of information ; this defect Mr. B. is well able to supply, and we look to him for further instruction respecting the island of Ceylon.

The history of Ceylon, before its invasion by Europeans, is, like that of all semi-barbarous nations, rendered nearly useless for the purposes of research, by the mixture of marvellous and

impossible events. The earliest distinct notice of its existence is found in the account of the navigation of Alexander's fleet. In the reign of Claudius, ambassadors from the monarch of the island visited Rome. The accounts which Pliny collected respecting the government, morals, character, and number of the inhabitants, seem very questionable. He speaks of an elective king, and of final appeals to the great body of the people; but the free, happy, and virtuous condition of society, which his descriptions point to, was never yet realized even in countries more privileged in these respects than eastern regions have been usually found to be. Diodorus Siculus, in his account of this island, minglest fable with fact; and it is a very remarkable circumstance that none of the early writers, Strabo and Arrian included, mention cinnamon among its products. This spice was called by the Persians *Chinese wood*; and the Greeks, who procured it from the Arabs, imagined it to be of Arabian growth. In the sixth century, Ceylon, as we learn from Cosma's *Indicopleustes*, was the principal mart of the Eastern ocean. In the thirteenth century it was visited by Marco Polo; and in the following, by Sir John Maundevile. In the year 1505, Lorenzo d'Almeida, son of the viceroy of Goa, was driven by stress of weather into the bay of Galle, and concluded a treaty of alliance with the chieftain of that part of the island, which thus became tributary to the king of Portugal. At the period referred to, Ceylon appears to have been divided into a considerable number of petty independent sovereignties, and it was by taking advantage of this circumstance, that the Portuguese obtained a permanent establishment in the island.

During this period, of which the utmost of our real knowledge may be comprised in a very limited space, the Cingalese annalists display a long and formidable race of monarchs.

' The earliest traditional accounts of the Singalese represent the people on both sides of the Ganges as living without laws or government, order or decency, in woods and caves, and, like inferior animals, feeding on grass and roots, without any trace of agriculture or civilization.

' On a certain morning, in a length of ages past, when the natives of Tanassery, or Tanassery, were contemplating the rising sun, they beheld a figure of majestic form and beautiful appearance suddenly issue from the body of that splendid luminary. All who saw this attractive form ran towards it in an extacy of admiration. In a posture of homage and a tone of reverence they enquired who he was, whence he came, and what was the intention of his coming? The phantom replied, in the language of the country, that he was the progeny of the glorious sun, and that God had sent him to rule over the nations. The people of Tanassery, prostrating themselves upon the earth in humble adoration, said that they were ready to receive him as their chief, and to obey his laws.

‘ The first thing which this celestial visitant did, after he was received as the sovereign of Tanassery, was to induce the people to leave their savage and desultory life in the woods, and to build houses and villages, in order to live together in a state of civil subordination and social harmony. This king, having closed a long reign, left many sons, amongst whom he divided his dominions. His descendants, who are said to have continued in a long line of descent for two thousand years, were called Suriavus, or descendants of the race of the sun ; amongst whom was Vigea Raja, who is celebrated as the first of the Singalese emperors.

‘ This Vigea Raja, one of the progeny of the sun, is said to have made the first discovery of the Island of Ceylon, in the year of the world 1996. Accounts differ as to the part of the coast where he effected his first landing ; but it is said that he disembarked with seven hundred men ; and, having proceeded to form a settlement at some distance from the shore, became the first sovereign of the island.’—*History of Ceylon*, pp. 14—16.

This absurd legend is a tolerably fair specimen of the marvels with which the history of Ceylon is embellished. We have the daughter of one of the kings, married to a lion, and their progeny suitably ornamenting the human form derived from the mother, with the long and tufted tail inherited from the father. Some few hundred years, more or less, after this ‘ well authenticated event,’ occurred the following equally credible circumstances.

‘ He had a son named Gaja Bahu Comara, who was brought up along with Milo, a son of one of the cast of washermen, who was born on the same day as the prince. Both these children grew up to be strong as giants. The emperor, his father, had an iron walking stick or pole made for him, which it required sixty men to carry. It was as thick as twenty-two clinched fists, and was thirty-five span long. The handle was overlaid with gold, and the top of it blushed with a great and inestimable ruby. This walking pole was quite a plaything in his hand, and his giant foster-brother sometimes carried it after his lord. During the government of Bapa Raja, and whilst his son was only a youth, a great army landed from the coast of Malabar, which attacked the Singalese troops, and made 12,000 prisoners. With the exception of this disaster his reign was a peaceable period of twelve years.

‘ When Gaja Bahu ascended the throne, and heard how the Malabars had carried off 12,000 of his father’s subjects, he became agitated with rage, and vowed that he would revenge the affront. With no other attendant than his foster brother, Milo Jojada, and with no other weapon than his iron walking stick, he proceeded from the province of Roona, and from the town of Guliapura Nawara ; and, without having recourse to boat or ship, he swam over to the coast of Malabar. Having dispersed the troops that opposed his landing, he marched towards the capital where the king held his court. That monarch, hearing of his approach, ordered all the gates

to be shut, but the Emperor Gaja Bahu, having soon battered them to pieces with his club, went directly to the palace, set fire to all the doors, and ransacked the apartments, till at last he discovered the king in a small room, where he was reclined on a bed. After sitting by the Malabar sovereign for some time, without saying a word, Gaja Bahu proceeded to lay his staff upon his stomach, which almost pressed his breath out of his body, and did not leave him power to utter a syllable. In the mean time his foster-brother made great havoc in the town. He not only crushed all the men that came in his way, but slaughtered their horses in heaps, and laid their strongest elephants dead with a blow.

‘In this emergency, the terrified king of Malabar, whom the lifting up of the iron staff enabled to breathe a little, asked the Emperor of Ceylon how large an army he had brought with him, when he replied, that he and his foster-brother had come over by themselves, without any other attendants. He was then asked, what was the object of his expedition, and he replied, “I came here only to liberate 12,000 of my subjects, who have been carried into captivity.” The King of Malabar, who was still half dead with affright, proposed to give up all the prisoners who were living, and to substitute others for those who were dead. But this offer did not satisfy the emperor. He required 24,000 captives, or threatened to lay the whole country waste. In order to escape these horrors, the king instantly complied with the emperor’s demands, and furnished him with ships and provisions, that he might depart as soon as possible. *History of Ceylon*, pp. 30—32.

Without encumbering our pages any further with Ceylonese historical romance, we shall content ourselves with adopting the conclusions of M. Bertolacci.

‘We learn from tradition, that Ceylon possessed, in former times, a larger population, and a much higher state of cultivation, than it now enjoys. Although we have no data to fix, with any degree of certitude, the exact period of this prosperity, yet the fact is incontestable. The signs which have been left, and which we observe upon the island, lead us gradually back to the remotest antiquity.’ *Bertolacci’s View*, p. 11.

The monuments to which Mr. B. refers, are evidently assignable to distinct periods. The ruins of a very extensive town in the north western part of the island, can claim an antiquity of only six hundred years; and the celebrated Giants’ Tank, or reservoir, sixteen or eighteen miles in circumference, is connected with the same point, both of locality and time.

‘At the distance of about nine miles from this great Tank, an embankment of stones and lime has been laid across the Moesely or Aripo river; in order there to form a vast reservoir, and thus divert part of the water, by means of canals, into the Giants’ Tank. The stones of this dam or embankment are from seven to eight feet long, three or four feet broad, and from two feet and a quarter to three feet thick. The whole length of the dam is 600 feet; the breadth in

some parts, sixty, in none less than forty feet ; and in height from eight to twelve feet.' *Bertolacci's View*, p. 11, 12.

The state to which these structures belonged, is said to have been founded by the Brahmans, who were once possessors of the northern portion of the isle, but were afterwards expelled by some of the native princes. Independently however of these remains, there are throughout the island, abundant proofs of skill in architectural science, and consequently of great wealth and high civilization. The numerous temples and pagodas, some of them extremely elegant in their construction, distinctly show the former existence of a far more accomplished race of men, than that which now inhabits Ceylon. Of a yet higher antiquity than those hitherto mentioned, are

' The surprizing works constructed round the lake of Candely, distant about sixteen miles from Trincomalé. This lake, which comprehends nearly fifteen miles in circumference, is embanked in several places with a wall of huge stones, each from twelve to fourteen feet long, broad and thick in proportion, lying one over the other in a most masterly manner, so as to form a parapet of immense strength. . . . That part of this majestic work particularly deserves attention, when, by a parapet of nearly 150 feet breadth in the base, and 30 in the summit, two hills are made to join, in order to encompass and keep in, the water of this lake. In this part of the parapet, arches are to be seen ; and over these, in the work which is under the level of the water, an opening is made, entirely resembling those used by the Romans in some of the lakes in Italy ; which openings for letting out the waters are known by the appellation of ' *Condottori*' ' *Bertolacci's View*, p. 13, 14.

This gigantic work must be referred to a most remote period, and it proves, incontestably, the existence, at the time of its construction, of a strong government, a large population, an active and extensive cultivation, and considerable wealth ; and it seems, moreover, that the higher we ascend towards the primary antiquities of Ceylon, the stronger and more decided are the proofs which are discovered of its former prosperity and refinement. All this, most probably, arose from the convenient situation of this island, lying in the inevitable track of Indian trade. The timid navigation of the ancients, never venturing out of sight of shore, crept on from age to age through the straits of Manaar, and by making Ceylon the *entrepot* of traffic, raised it to commercial greatness, of all kinds of power the magnificent and the most transitory. The earliest distinct and authentic records of Cingalese history, are however to be found only in connexion with European enterprise ; and when, not much more than three hundred years since, the Portuguese landed on the southern coast of Ceylon, the situation in which they

‘found the island, was not essentially different from its present state, except in those changes which have been introduced into it by its successive European inmates. The inhabitants consisted of two distinct races of people. The savage Bedas then, as now, occupied the large forests, particularly in the northern parts, the rest of the island was in the possession of the Cingalese. The towns of the sea coast were not as yet ravished from the latter people by foreign invaders; and their King held his court at Columbo, which is now the European capital of Ceylon. Cinnamon was even then the principal product and the staple commodity of the island, as we find by the tribute paid by the king to the Portuguese, which consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds weight of cinnamon.’ *Percival’s Account of the Island of Ceylon*, pp. 5, 6.

The anxiety of the Portuguese was chiefly directed to the promotion of their commercial interests, and of those superstitious observances, which, under the name of Christianity, were but little elevated above the ritual of Boodh. They carefully guarded the secular institutions of the natives, and frequently contracted marriages with the native Ceylonese. The Dutch, who expelled the Portuguese, about the year 1656, gave themselves very little concern about the religious tenets of the Cingalese; trade was their only object, and this they confined to themselves, without suffering the participation of any other country. The cultivation and monopoly of cinnamon was their jealous and exclusive care; and this was guarded by severe, and even sanguinary laws. Ceylon continued until recently in the possession of the Dutch; when, after a resistance of the most pusillanimous kind, it surrendered to the British arms.

In the year 1657, ‘the Anne frigate,’ of London, in the service of the East India Company, sailed for India, and, on the eve of returning, in 1659, sustained so much damage in a storm, that she was ordered to Cottiar bay, in Ceylon, to refit. Here the Captain, his son Robert Knox, the writer of the narrative, and fourteen others, were seized by order of Raja Singa Adassyn, the then reigning monarch of the island. February 9, 1660, the Captain died, and ‘thus,’ piously exclaims his son, ‘thus was I left desolate, sick, and in captivity, having no earthly comforter, none but only He (Him) who looks down from Heaven to hear the groaning of the prisoners, and to shew himself a father of the fatherless, and a present help to them that have no helper.’

After a considerable lapse of time, Knox very providentially found a Bible, and the account of this event, though somewhat long, is given in a style of simplicity so genuine and touching, as to render it quite needless to make an apology for inserting it entire.

‘It chanced, as I was fishing, an old man passed by, and seeing me, asked of my boy, “If I could read a book?” He answered “Yes.

“ The reason I ask,” said the old man, “ is, because I have one I got when the Portuguese lost Columbo ; and, if your master please to buy it, I will sell it him :” which, when I heard of, I bid my boy go to his house with him, which was not far off, and bring it to me, making no great account of the matter, supposing it might be some Portuguese book.

• The boy having formerly served the English, knew the book ; and, as soon as he had got it in his hand, came running with it, calling out to me, “ It is a Bible !” It startled me to hear him mention the name of a Bible, for I neither had one, nor scarcely could ever think to see one ; upon which I flung down my angle, and went to meet him. The first place the book opened in, after I took it into my hand, was the sixteenth chapter of the Acts ; and the first place my eye pitched on was the thirtieth and one and thirtieth verses—where the jailor asked St. Paul, “ What must I do to be saved ?” And he answered, saying—“ Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thine house.”

• The sight of this book so rejoiced me, and affrighted me together, that I cannot say which passion was greater ; the joy, for that I had got sight of a Bible, or the fear that I had not enough to buy it ; having then but one pagoda in the world, which I willingly would have given for it, had it not been for my boy, who dissuaded me from giving so much, alledging my necessity for money many other ways, and undertaking to procure the book for a far meaner price, provided I would seem to slight it in the sight of the old man. This counsel, after I considered, I approved of: my urgent necessities earnestly craving, and my ability being but very small to relieve the same ; and however, I thought I could give my piece of gold at the last cast, if other means should fail.

• I hope the readers will excuse me, that I hold them so long upon this single passage ; for it did so affect me then, that I cannot lightly pass it over as often as I think of it, or have occasion to mention it.

• The sight indeed of this Bible so overjoyed me, as if an angel had spoken to me from heaven ; to see that my most gracious God had prepared such an extraordinary blessing for me, which I did, and ever shall look upon as miraculous ; to bring unto me a Bible in my own native language, and that in such a remote part of the world—where his Name was not so much as known, and where any Englishman was never known to have been before. I looked upon it as somewhat of the same nature with the Ten Commandments he had given the Israelites out of heaven ; it being the thing, for want whereof I had so often mourned, nay, and shed tears too ; and, than the enjoyment whereof there could be no greater joy in the world to me.

• Upon the sight of it I left off fishing ; God having brought a fish to me that my soul had longed for—and now how to get it, and enjoy the same, all the powers of my soul were employed. I gave God hearty thanks that he had brought it so near me, and most earnestly prayed that he would bestow it on me. Now, it being well towards evening, and not having wherewithal to buy it about me, I departed home, telling the old man, that in the morning I would send my boy to buy it of him.

‘ All that night I could take no rest for thinking on it, fearing lest I might be disappointed of it. In the morning, as soon as it was day, I sent the boy with a knit cap he had made for me, to buy the book, praying in my heart for good success, which it pleased God to grant ; for that cap purchased it, and the boy brought it to me, to my great joy, which did not a little comfort me over all my afflictions.’ pp. 258—260.

Knox seems to have conducted himself, during his captivity, with the utmost prudence ; he accommodated himself to the manners of the natives, entered into trade, purchased an estate, but uniformly declined taking a wife. He once had an interview with the Raja, who proposed to take him into his service ; but this he steadily refused, well aware that he had nothing better to expect from the capricious despot, than present favour purchased at the expense of future sufferings, and of death. He never lost sight of the possibility of escape, and made several judicious but ineffectual attempts to accomplish it. At length, on the 22d September, 1679, he set out, in company with Stephen Rutland, on a last and successful expedition. They directed their march northward, descended into the low and level country of Nourecalava, cajoled the governor of Coliwilla, and got successfully through a much severer examination at Anarodgburrro. Between these two places they had crossed a stream which they rightly supposed would lead them to the sea ; and finding it impossible to get beyond the last mentioned town, they determined on retracing their steps as far as this river ; and on following its channel to the coast. After encountering some dangers and more difficulties, they reached the Dutch port of Aripo,

‘ It being about four of the clock on Saturday afternoon, October the 18th, 1679 ; which day God grant us grace that we may never forget—when he was pleased to give us so great a deliverance from such a long captivity of nineteen years and six months, and odd days, being taken prisoner when I was nineteen years old, and continued upon the mountains among the heathen till I attained to eight and thirty.’ p. 341.

The cruelty of Raja Singa was excessive and capricious. Not only there was no security in his apparent and avowed goodwill, but it was the inevitable prelude to the most excruciating tortures, and to death itself. And yet the situations at court, and the honours of the realm, seem to have been as eagerly sought after, as the privileges and immunities of rank are coveted under milder governments.

‘ The king,’ says Knox, ‘ they call by a name, that signifies somewhat higher than a man, and next to God. But, before the wars, they styled him Dionanxi, which is a title higher than God, by the

addition of Nanxi; this title the king took before the rebellion, but since he forbad it. When they speak to the king concerning themselves, they do not speak in the first person and say—"I did so, or so; but baulagot, the limb of a dog did it, or will do it." And, when they speak of their children unto the king, they call them "poppies;" as if he ask them "how many children they have?" they say "so many puppy-dogs, and so many puppy-bitches;" by which, by the way, we may conjecture, at the height of the king, and the slavery of the people under him.' p. 213.

Brutalized as the people were by slavery, the barbarities of their tyrant became at length so excessive, as to exasperate them into rebellion. They assaulted the palace, and might easily have either secured or destroyed the Raja; but they permitted him to escape, and the insurrection was speedily quelled. He had now an opportunity of exercising his favourite atrocities, and he indulged it to the uttermost. He poisoned his son, cut off the most loyal of his subjects, and

'One of the most noted rebels, called Ambom Wellaraul, he sent to Columba, to the Dutch, to execute, supposing they would invent new tortures for him, beyond what he knew of; but they, instead of executing him, cut off his chains, and kindly entertained him, and there he still is in the city of Columba, reserving him for some designs they may hereafter have against the country.' p. 119.

'He seems to be naturally disposed to cruelty; for he sheds a great deal of blood, and gives no reason for it. His cruelty appears both in the tortures and painful deaths he inflicts, and in the extent of his punishments, viz. upon whole families for the miscarriage of one in them: for when the king is displeased with any, he does not always command to kill them outright, but first to torment them, which is done by cutting and pulling away their flesh by pincers, burning them with hot irons clapped to them, to make them confess of their confederates; and this they do to rid themselves of their torments, confessing far more than ever they saw or knew. After their confession, sometimes he commands to hang their two hands about their necks, and to make them eat their own flesh, and their own mothers to eat of their own children; and so to lead them through the city in public view, to terrify all unto the place of execution, the dogs following to eat them; for they are so accustomed to it, that they, seeing a prisoner led away, follow after. At the place of execution there are always some sticking upon poles, others hanging up in quarters upon trees, besides what he killed by elephants on the ground, or by other ways. This place is always in the greatest highway, that all may see and stand in awe; for which end this is his constant practice.' pp. 77, 78.

The following passage has been frequently referred to, as a proof of Knox's credulity. We are certainly not disposed to acquit him upon this point; but on the other hand, we are not at all inclined to question his general accuracy respecting what he saw and what he heard, because his want of whole-

some scepticism led him to ascribe facts to an erroneous cause.

‘ This for certain I can affirm, that oftentimes the devil doth cry with audible voice in the night ; ’tis very shrill, almost like the barking of a dog : this I have often heard myself, but never heard that it did any body any harm. Only this observation the inhabitants of the land have made of this voice, and I have made it also, that either just before, or very suddenly after this voice, always the king cuts off people. To believe that this is the voice of the devil, these reasons urge—because there is no creature known to the inhabitants that cry like it, and because it will on a sudden depart from one place, and make a noise in another, quicker than any fowl could fly ; and because the very dogs will tremble and shake when they hear it ; and ’tis so accounted by all the people.

‘ This voice is heard only in Candy Uda, and never in the low lands. When the voice is near to a Chingulay’s house, he will curse the devil, calling him geremoi goulammah, “ beef-eating slave be gone, be damned, cut his nose off, beat him in pieces ; ” and such like words of railly, and this they will speak aloud, with noise, and passion, and threatening : this language I have heard them bestow upon the voice ; and the voice, upon this, always ceaseth for a while, and seems to depart, being heard at a greater distance.’ pp. 155—156.

In 1782, during the temporary possession of Trincomalé by the English, an embassy was sent to Candy, and Mr. Boyd was charged with its management. The mission was productive of no other effect, than that of mutual compliment ; but it afforded Mr. B. an opportunity of admiring the magnificence of Ceylonese scenery, and of witnessing the ceremonies of the Candian court. Describing the prostration of the courtiers, he says,

‘ “ Those who performed them almost literally licked the dust ; prostrating themselves with their faces close to the stone floor, and throwing out their legs and arms as in the attitude of swimming ; then rising to their knees by a sudden spring from the breast, like what is called the salmon leap by tumblers, they repeated, in a very loud voice, a certain form of words, of the most extravagant meaning that can be conceived—‘ That the head of the king of kings might reach beyond the sun ! that he might live a hundred thousand years, &c.’ ” p. 138.

The prime minister, ‘ a venerable grey headed old man,’ having occasion to come from the upper to the lower end of the hall, Mr. Boyd was beyond measure surprised at seeing him come ‘ trotting down one of the aisles, like a dog, on all fours. ‘ He returned in the same manner to the foot of the throne.’

In 1798, the king of Candy died, and Pelemé Talavé, the chief Adigar, raised a young Malabar to the throne, with the avowed intention of removing him at a proper opportunity, for the purpose of establishing his own power. The minister en-

gaged in an indirect intercourse with the British government, with a view to further his designs ; but no encouragement was afforded him by Mr. North, the governor of Ceylon. In 1800, General Macdowall visited Candy in the character of Ambassador, but with as little effect as Mr. Boyd. Both Mr. Percival and Mr. Cordiner describe this embassy, but we much prefer the account given by the former of these gentlemen, who was himself among the military attendants of the Envoy. The chief Adigar seems to have been a first rate intriguer, and in addition to this species of political talent, so much in request both in Eastern and in European courts, he appears to have been fully capable of laying down a comprehensive plan, and of acting upon it with skill and energy. In 1802, he commenced his measures by acts of aggression which led to avowed and active hostilities on both sides. In 1803, two British divisions entered the Candian territory on opposite sides, and penetrated with difficulty, though without opposition, to the capital. It was the policy of Pelemé Talavé to harass the invaders continually, to give them no respite, no repose, until, wasted and debilitated by the pestilential climate, and the fatigues of constant duty, they might be easily overwhelmed by the simultaneous attack of the Cingalese army. His scheme was completely successful; he occupied strong posts, amused and exhausted the vigilance of the enemy by incessant artifices and negotiations, and succeeded beyond conception in *gulling* in the grossest manner, not only the military officers commanding the troops, but Mr. North himself, the governor of the Island. General Macdowall having returned to Columbo, the command of the garrison of Candy devolved upon Major Davie, an officer of honour and bravery, but unhappily deficient in that firmness of character which is the only effectual weapon to be employed against cunning and treachery. Attacked by the natives, he capitulated, and marched out on his retreat to the British settlements. He next consented to deliver up to certain death, the legitimate heir of the Candian monarchy ; and finally, he laid down his arms. The consequence of this was the indiscriminate massacre of the English troops. Major Davie and Captain Rumley were alone exempted from the slaughter. The heroic conduct of the Malay officers was gloriously conspicuous. A Captain Nouradeen and his brother, when introduced to the Raja, refused to prostrate themselves before him, and having rejected every temptation to violate their fidelity to the king of England, they were put to death. While we lament the sufferings of our gallant countrymen, it is impossible not to feel a yet severer pang at the fate of the magnanimous Nouradeen.

\* In September, 1804, Major Johnson of the third Ceylon regi-

ment, set out on his march from Baticalo to Candy, with a detachment of 300 troops, with 550 pioneers and coolies. Major Johnson reached the place of his destination on the 6th of October, and took possession of the capital, which had been previously deserted by the inhabitants. The major could obtain no intelligence of the other detachments, with which he expected to have formed a junction at this place; and he heard that the enemy were in great force in the neighbourhood, waiting till the effect of the climate had so reduced their numbers, or weakened their strength, as to render them an easy prey, as the troops under Major Davie had been the year before. Major Johnson found himself in a most critical situation. His troops were in some measure awed by the recollection of the recent massacre of their comrades in the previous year; and of this catastrophe, several of the apartments in the palace, in which they were quartered, contained mournful memorials in the hats, shoes, canteens, and accoutrements of the murdered soldiers, which were displayed on the walls; and many of them still marked the ill-fated owners' names. In these circumstances, Major Johnson, without wasting much time in deliberation, very wisely determined to cross the river that runs near the capital, and to take post on the left bank, where he might ensure his retreat. As he was proceeding to execute this resolution, the major passed on the outside of the town, a number of skeletons of massacred officers of Major Davie's corps hanging on the trees; and, when he reached the banks of the river, where that unfortunate officer had agreed to surrender to the enemy, he found the ground still covered with the bones of his butchered troops. The Candians, who had assembled on the opposite bank to oppose Major Johnson's movements, pointed to those bones, as a warning of the fate which they might expect. But Major Johnson, more determined, and more fortunate than his predecessor, after encountering and overcoming many difficulties, at last succeeded in getting his troops across the river. He now lost no time in prosecuting his retreat to Trincomalee, a distance of 142 miles. The Candians, in many parts of the rout, endeavoured to obstruct their march, by blocking up the way with large trees, which they felled for that purpose, or by raising breast-works to oppose their progress. They were, in other respects, greatly harassed by the enemy on their march, and suffered considerable loss. For some days, they were engaged in one continued skirmish, whilst they were, at the same time, exposed alternately to a scorching sun or a pelting rain. At length, however, the Candians slackened their pursuit, till the major and the residue of his detachment reached Trincomalee in a state of great lassitude and exhaustion, from the various privations which they had experienced, and the great fatigue which they had undergone, without mentioning the insalubrity of the climate, and the different extremes of heat, cold, and wet, to which they had been exposed. Major Johnson published a perspicuous and respectable narrative of his expedition, *History*, pp. 165—166.

The Candians followed up their successful blow, and invaded the British possessions, but were repulsed with ease by a few invalids, sheltered by slender fortifications. The subsequent

fate of Pelemé is not known, but it is probable that he was put to death in his proper rotation\*, as in 1814, we find another chief Adigar, Eheilapola, after an unsuccessful attempt at rebellion, taking refuge in Columbo.

‘ The tyrant no sooner received intelligence of the revolt of Eheilapola, than he determined upon an act of the most inhuman revenge. The wife and children of the chief had been left at Candy, according to the practice of the court, as hostages for his fidelity and allegiance. The children were five in number. The eldest was eighteen years of age, the youngest an infant at the breast. These innocent victims to the brutal rage of the royal monster were conducted to the market-place, where the head of the infant being first cut off, the distracted mother was actually compelled to pound it in a mortar. The other children were afterwards butchered in succession; and the mother herself was finally slaughtered, to consummate the tragedy.’ *History*, p. 172.

The war which followed, is within general memory. The wretched tyrant was deserted by all his subjects, and after having been treated with the utmost scorn and ignominy, given up to the English.

‘ The dethroned King of Candy made one remark on the difference between his own arbitrary sway, and a more restrained exercise of power, which does credit to his sagacity, and deserves attentive consideration. In a conversation with Major Hook, he said, “ The English governors have one advantage over us kings of Candy:—they have counsellors about them, who never allow them to do any thing in a passion, and that is the reason you have so few punishments; but, unfortunately for us, the offender is dead before our resentment has subsided.” ’ p. 180.

‘ The following instance is well fitted to illustrate the nature of a character, where the will of the individual has never known restraint, nor experienced opposition. The captive king had requested that four of the usual female attendants might be permitted to wait upon his queens. This was willingly conceded; and the same night one of these was brought to bed in the house. The king no sooner heard of this, than he demanded that the woman should be instantly removed. Colonel Kerr very humanely refused to comply, and remonstrated on the cruelty of the proceeding, with a poor creature in her unfortunate situation. His majesty, however, who had not been used to have any of his desires contravened, however extravagant or barbarous they might be, flew about his apartment in the most frantic rage, vowing that “ he would neither eat, drink, nor sleep, till he was satisfied.” Colonel Kerr, becoming apprehensive lest the poor woman should be murdered by the tyrant, gave orders for her removal, though at the hazard of her life.’ pp. 180, 181.

The arrangement which followed, is a very striking illustra-

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\* This was actually the case, as we learn from Mr. Bertolacci. He perished in 1811.

tion of the unfashionable doctrine of the right of cashiering kings. It was resolved by General Brownrigg, in conference with the 'adigars, dessaves, and other principal chiefs of the 'Candian provinces,' and it has been since, we suppose, ratified by the British government, 'that the Rajah Sri Wikreme 'Rajah, by the habitual violation of the chief and most sacred 'duties of a sovereign, has forfeited all claims to that title.' A sort of feudal government has, we believe, been established, of which the king of England is the acknowledged head.

We have thus endeavoured to give our readers a general notion of the character and history of the Cingalese, as well as of the different publications relating to their country; we shall now lay before them a few brief notices, taken chiefly from Messrs. Bertolacci and Cordiner, respecting the geography, produce, and inhabitants, of Ceylon.

The southern part of the island is chiefly mountainous, intersected by valleys of great beauty and fertility; the northern portion is flat and peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of rice. A broad belt of forest and jungle, formed a strong and effectual frontier fortification, separating and defending the interior from the encroachments of the possessors of the coasts, and was carefully preserved by the Candian sovereigns as their safest barrier. It was indeed often crossed, but never with impunity; almost insuperable difficulties exhausted and dispirited the troops, and the fatal *jungle fever* thinned the invading ranks more surely than the sword. The coast of Ceylon is admirably adapted to the purposes of commerce; broken into harbours of various extent, and frequently crossed by rivers, it affords advantages of all kinds to navigation.

'The districts of Matura, Point de Galle, Colombo, and Chilau, derive considerable advantages from the many rivers that pass through them, and the various canals that form a communication between those rivers. From Mahadampe in the vicinity of Chilau, to Mahakoone, near Caltura, the inland navigation is almost uninterrupted. This is an extent of about seventy miles of the most fertile soil, and best populated country in all the island.'—*Bertolacci*, p. 38.

But the principal object which makes the island of Ceylon of political importance to Great Britain, is the noble harbour of Trincomalé, secure and spacious, accessible at all seasons, and most advantageously situated with regard to our Indian Empire.

'From its centrical position, and the easy ingress and egress which it affords at all seasons, it is better adapted for being made a marine depot, and a rendezvous for his Majesty's squadrons, than any other station in India. At Bombay the navy are removed entirely out of the way of affording any protection to trade, and for six months in the year a great lapse of time is required before they can come round to

the opposite coast of the Peninsula: At Calcutta, or in the river Hoogly, they are placed exactly under similar circumstances. The total want of shelter on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar renders a free access to the port of Trincomalé a most momentous object. At seasons when ships cannot look into the road of Madras, nor shew a sail off the mouths of the Ganges, they are here presented with a sure refuge. The naval power that commands this harbour may keep all Asia in awe, and easily intercept the trade of other nations to and from every corner of Hindostan.'—*Cordiner*, Vol. I. pp. 266—267.

Ceylon is rich in mineral and vegetable productions; 'precious stones' have long been enumerated in the commercial catalogue of its various wealth. Its pearl fisheries are unrivalled; they are government property, and subject to strict and peculiar regulations: a very complete and interesting account of the mode of conducting them will be found in Mr. Cordiner's second volume. The privilege of fishing the banks, is usually farmed out, and in 1798 produced one hundred and forty thousand pounds revenue to the government; but in 1814 the rent was only sixty-four thousand pounds. The vegetable reign in Ceylon has all the glow and richness of Eastern variety and growth; the palms, the bread fruit, and cocoa nut, the banyan, and other trees, useful and ornamental, adorn in the greatest profusion, this fertile and luxuriant isle. But the most important plant in European estimation, is the cinnamon, of which Government holds the monopoly, and subjects the various processes connected with its cultivation, and the preparation of its bark, to strict regulations. The talipot, a species of palm, is used by the natives for a variety of purposes. Its strong, light, flexible, and gigantic leaf is impenetrable to rain, and forms the material of tents and umbrellas: it is also used in lieu of paper. For an account of the inhabitants of Ceylon, we shall refer our readers to a concluding extract from Mr. Bertolacci.

'In the territories of the King of Candy, the mass of the population is Ceylonese proper. These occupy also the south and southwest coasts of the island . . . . The Malabars or Hindoos are in possession of the north and east coasts, and the peninsula of Jaffnapatam. The Moors who may be looked upon as the most industrious and laborious of all, are dispersed over every part of the island . . . . The Vedas or Bedas, who, by all appearances, are the only indigenous nation in the island, live in a savage state, in all that large forest which extends from the south to the east and north, upon the borders of our frontiers, as well as far into the Candian territory, and upon the Wanny provinces. The Ceylonese Proper derive their origin from Siam: this is the opinion which generally prevails among them, and the fact is related in their histories. Their language and religion (namely the Boodhist) are the same as the Siamese.'

The tenure of the land, as may easily be anticipated, depended on the principle that the monarch was sole lord, and could give

and resume at pleasure. Mr. B. furnishes very interesting details of the various modifications of that principle in its application to actual occupancy. We must also refer to him for the plan of civil management, and for the various offices connected with it. The distinctions of caste prevail, but the system is too complicated to admit of abridgement. The Appendix A. contains an interesting series of 'answers given by some of the best informed Candian priests, to questions put to them by Governor Falk, in the year 1769, respecting the ancient laws and customs of their country.'

Mr. Bertolacci's book has the advantage of a very handsome map. This map is, however, capable of improvement, even from an imperfect knowledge of the interior. The lettering too, is so badly managed, as to be scarcely legible. The map to the 'History,' which is said to be for 'Knox's History of the Island,' is useless for that purpose. It is absolutely impossible to trace Knox's adventures upon it. It is now some time since we read Knox in his own publication, but we do not recollect any difficulty in following him upon his own map, imperfect as it was, and we are persuaded that a very little attention might have made the present map equally available for the illustration of modern travels, and of Knox's old but not antiquated narrative.

We have purposely abstained from involving ourselves in the labyrinths of Ceylonese mythology. As we have before stated in the quotation from Mr. Bertolacci, the established church of Candy professes the religion of Boodh, and this inscrutable faith is deeply interwoven with the mysteries and perplexities of Hindoo superstition.

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Art. III. *An Attempt to support the Diversity of Future Rewards.*  
8vo. pp. 62. Price 2s. Gardiner and Son. London.

WE feel no inclination to dispute the assertion of the Author, founded, as he says, upon 'long observation and some knowledge of the religious world,' that the notion he opposes, is very prevalent. If this be the case, believing, as we do, that it is an opinion that can find shelter from the evidence of Scripture and reason, only under some considerable misapprehensions, and that of course, as an error, it exerts an injurious influence, we must allow the good sense and pious feeling of the writer to be well employed in the attempt to confute it. But were it not so, were they who hold the opposite opinion, no more than that resolute minority which is to be found in every question, no matter how broad the day-light about them, even then we should not regret the attempt, directed by the above named qualities of good sense and pious feeling, to lead the attention of Christians

towards any branch of a subject, which, although it possesses every claim, and every attraction, seems strangely to *subside* from the recollections of many professors of religion, and like a ponderous residuum, appears among the 'multitude of their thoughts,' only as the result of some accidental agitation. It is a subject too, which, compared with other topics in Divinity, has this peculiar recommendation, it affords a field, the verdure of which has scarcely at all been broken up by the trampling hoofs of angry disputants. It is a mountain-top, where that bitter herb, the *odium theologicum*, has not flourished; a region where quiet spirits may range, with little fear of encountering the sons of discord and contention.

The Author seems to be sensible that he has chiefly to do with those whose convictions of the freeness and sovereignty of Divine Grace, are the most full and profound, and whose anxiety for the honour of this first of truths, may lead them to reject unexamined, any position they may apprehend to infringe upon it.

We believe indeed that there are persons, who, if they would narrowly examine the workings of their own minds, would detect a jealousy even of the oracles of God, lest these also should disparage a doctrine upon which they *feel* that all their hopes are built. Such persons, the Author remarks, 'should be apprised, ' that those who are alarmed for the safety of their sentiments, or ' the peace and composure of their minds, by the language of ' inspiration, have reason to suspect, to examine, and to reform ' their creed.'

With the view of meeting a prejudice of this kind, the Author premises, that 'the happiness of the saints in heaven is, in the ' sacred writings, represented under the idea of a *reward*;' and he cites in proof three passages, which he considers as plainly referring to the heavenly state, and in which the term is used in its most strict and proper sense; that is, as we imagine, meaning a promised good, in consideration of which a work is performed, or suffering is undergone. The texts referred to are Matt. v. 12. Col. iii. 24. Rev. xxii. 12. And here we would say, that the humble Christian, who, knowing *himself*, is disquieted by the mention of these words, *merit* and *reward*, and who trembles at the thought of receiving from the Divine Hand that which he *deserves*, should learn to distinguish things that differ, and he will easily reconcile the apportioning of future happiness to the labours, sufferings, and attainments of the present time, with the fullest claims of grace. Let him remember, that as a creature, considered abstractedly, he *deserves* from the Creator absolutely *nothing*. As the subject of law, from the righteous Governor, he deserves *punishment*, and that for every act, and the whole sum of his probation. But, as a subject of that system in which

God is pleased to append and proportion, according to a uniform law, future happiness to grace freely given in time, the Christian exactly deserves,\* he is truly worthy† of, that recompence for which he is preparing. Such is that crown which they who receive it shall cast at the feet of him who gives it!‡

The position in question is argued from—The analogy of the Divine proceedings—The great diversity of Christian experience,—and The vast variety of natural capacity with which Christians are endowed in the present state. Under the last head, the Author, having shewn the probability that this diversity will survive the accident of death, infers, that it implies a diversity of happiness.

‘ Two persons equally sharing the care and kindness of a friend, will feel themselves happy in proportion as they appreciate and esteem his friendship. A child seven years old, may be happy in the consciousness of being the object of his father’s affection, and the heir of his property; but when he arrives at mature age, he will form a higher estimate of his father’s love, in connexion with his wisdom, care, and possessions; and he will feel proportionably more happy. The source of his happiness, however, in the last mentioned stage of his life, is precisely the same as it was in the former. When he was a child, equally as when arrived at manhood, all that the father had was his. But having, in consequence of the maturity of his mind, and the expansion of his powers, formed more correct and comprehensive sentiments of the character, affection, and possessions of his father, and a more vigorous appropriation of an interest in them, he feels himself richer and more happy in his relation to him. So believers, who are “the sons of God,” will find themselves rich and happy in their relation to “the Father of spirits,” in proportion to the accuracy and extent of their views of his character and perfections, and the vigour of those powers by which they appropriate to themselves an interest in whatever is endearing and transporting in the full assurance of being “heirs of God, joint heirs with Christ.” ’ pp. 32, 3.

The Author goes on to argue from—The different degrees of moral excellence which will exist in the heavenly state, and from—The superior tendency (of such a diversity of reward) to advance the happiness of the whole society of the redeemed. Here he remarks :

‘ If every person’s talents, and attainments, and feelings, were alike; no one could communicate to another an idea which the individual who was addressed did not previously possess, nor exhibit an excellence which he had not already attained, nor excite a pleasing emotion which he had not before experienced. Nothing new, not at least through the medium of social intercourse, could be produced: no new discovery could be conveyed; no new feeling imparted; no new desire excited; no new anticipation formed. All would be perfect sameness. There would be an immense multitude, without

variety; an innumerable company, without society. All would be equal in knowledge, in honour, in attainments, in enjoyment; and of consequence, there would be no teaching, no learning; no emulation, no condescension; no admiration, no congratulation, no sympathy. All would be equality, uniformity, identity. It would be bodily, or corporeal, rather than mental, society. Each individual would, in every other, see his own attainments, and sentiments, his own feelings, and recollections, and anticipations; would in fact, see *himself, only himself*. Every individual would lose the character of a companion, and would become a kind of living mirror, in which all would see, and see only, the reflection of their own intellectual and moral features.'

The argument of this "Attempt," is summed up by the induction of Scripture testimony. This evidence appears, indeed, abundant and conclusive; quite as much so, at least, as that which supports many positions very generally received among Christians. That an opposite opinion is entertained, may be accounted for, no doubt, in part from the fact, that there are always to be found those who will take care to provide an *opposite opinion* upon every question not directly within the reach of demonstration: and what notion is there, without this realm of frost and iron, towards the support of which *something* may not be advanced? But the belief of a perfect equality of reward in the future world, may arise from two very opposite sources. That profound humbleness of mind, that entire absorption of the principle of self-love, which attends the highest attainments, may occasion, (from a want of more comprehensive views,) a feeling almost of distress at the thought of any pre-eminence or distinction; and may induce it, as it were, to take refuge in the *crowd* which it is the property of equality to produce. On the other hand may we suppose, that a sort of antinomian acquiescence in conscious inferiority, may engender the persuasion, that all shall come to the same in the end; and that thus, after having enjoyed the comforts, privileges, and immunities, of a lazy hope in this world, the operation of a sort of Agrarian law in the heavenly inheritance, shall put them on a footing with those who have indeed "given all diligence to make their calling and "election sure," that so an entrance may be ministered to them *abundantly*, into the everlasting kingdom of their Lord and Saviour.

But *all* truth is food, *all* error is poison, and we hear with impatience of mistakes that can do no harm, of truths of no importance. Where is the sentiment that is thus prefaced in the *Bible*? The humble and ardent soul may fearlessly expose itself to the operation of all those motives which He who knoweth our frame has seen fit to address to it. And the indolent, who are reclined upon the "hay and stubble" which they have nested for themselves on the one foundation, may be assured that though "they may be saved," it shall be "as by fire, and they shall "suffer loss."

On all subjects to which the Divine testimony extends, we would rest simply upon such testimony, to the exclusion of professed demonstrations *a priori*, as making any part of the foundation of faith and opinion. Nevertheless, we admit that where a prejudice, which is in itself probably some *a priori* hypothesis, prevents the perception of this evidence, such statements may be well employed in removing the accidental obstruction.

Now were we required to treat the question in hand independently of Scripture testimony, the following argument would appear to us satisfactory.

The universe may be considered under two different aspects, each of which affords a ground of expectation that the law of diversity in all qualities will be found to pervade the creation. In the first place, then, the universe is the result and the exercise of all the natural and moral attributes of God,—an effect corresponding to its cause; or what is the same thing for the present purpose, it is the display, so far as it is capable of being exhibited to finite minds, of the character of the Creator. In all he does God is wise, and good, and free; and he is so in a way perceptible to at least all holy intelligences. And, further, it is presumed that, in this exhibition of the Divine character to intelligent creatures, there appears to be, from all that we see, as well as from the testimony of Scripture, a *special end* in the structure and conduct of the universe, a first lesson, written again and again, on every page of the great Book, the lesson which we may conceive to be the most needful for creatures to learn; that is, that God is *sovereign*; that, as he is the direct cause of all good, he is so *freely*; he does good *as he will*. Now, as even in the present state, in which all things are veiled, every atom of the visible creation reflects something of this dazzling truth, may we not confidently expect, that in the state of consummation, it shall be much more glorious, and become the beginning and the ending of all adoration? But although power, and goodness, and other attributes, (to say wisdom would be to cede the question,) might be displayed in a system of which *sameness* should be the pervading law, sovereignty, whose property it is to make a difference in the bestowment of good, irrespective of any extrinsic claim, would, in such a system, be latent. But merely physical diversities, although indeed they imply the exercise of sovereignty, most directly tend to illustrate a natural perfection, the wisdom of contrivance. It is in the bestowment of different portions of the ultimate good, of likeness to God, and the favour consequent upon it, that is, of happiness,—it is *here* that the Divine Sovereignty reigns, and is magnified; and it is on this ground, we presume to say, that “the servants of “God, both *great* and *small*,” shall delight to give him glory. And thus, when the principle of self-love shall have ceased to be

the centre of the soul, and all holy beings shall revolve with unvarying justness about the common source of good,—as the primary subject of felicity shall be the apprehended eternal blessedness of God,—that which is mediate, and secondary, shall spring from the apprehension of the blessedness, in their degrees, of other beings of higher and of lower orders. And when the least of the sons of God shall converse with those who “excel in strength,” these shall say, ‘Brethren, be glad and rejoice with us, for all this glory that the Father has bestowed upon us;’ and those, ‘Brethren, help us to praise him for what he hath done for us, even for us.’ The *harmony* of a diversified system is founded upon the recognition of sovereignty in bestowment.

But we have said that the universe may be contemplated under a second aspect, and we mean as it is a *system of objects* adapted to the active and passive affections of all conscious beings; and especially as affording the medium of exercise for the moral qualities of the intelligent creation.

Now, to confine ourselves to that which bears upon the particular question, we ask, Are there not qualities and dispositions in our nature, we will not say as fallen, but as restored, which most plainly indicate its destination to a state affording every possible diversity of rank, and office, and power, and employment, and excellence, and attainment? Few, we presume, will imagine the narrow pass of Death to be so strait, as to rend from the soul every thing that distinguishes man from man, and to cause him to emerge, stript of all but the naked consciousness of identity. Such a supposition derogates from the wisdom of Him who has made nothing in vain. But we will not insist upon those natural endowments which distinguish the few from the many, and fit them for peculiar employments, or those correspondent deficiencies which relate the many to the few. We pass by every distinction but that which is ultimate. And it is this ultimate difference among those who have been *fellow*s, which seems essential to the full exercise or last finishing of those shining graces which Christianity imparts and cherishes. We can but glance at the illustration of this position, which might indeed be pursued at great length. All graces are comprehended in love.—And now we must be indebted to the reflection upon their own minds, of our Christian readers.—Will they not grant to us that, as it relates to creatures, the furthest, the highest and most finished exercise of love, is that which passes on to beings who, while we feel that they are *fellow*s, are, some superior, and others inferior, to ourselves? The love that has such a field is, if we may so express ourselves, rich in pungent ingredients, compared with that which relates to an undistinguished crowd. We are ready to say there *must* be such a field, or the expansive energy of this

principle will be straitened, if not in its lengths and breadths, at least in its heights and depths. Is it not this *hyper-action* of the principle of love called forth by the superior excellence and happiness of a *brother*, which will be the ground of that ecstatic passion whose object is the adorable excellence and infinite blessedness of Him who will "shew us his hands and " his feet," and call us *brethren*? On the other hand, if love may yet be more sublimed, it must be in its direction towards inferiors. When the evil passions which are here so thickly clustered upon *self*, are no more,—in that world where the highest rank of creatures is the most beautiful in *humbleness*,—there will love receive its finishing of *tenderness*, in looking downwards. There may the prime article of a higher reward consist in the participation, though at an infinite remove, of that ineffable sentiment with which the Father of the universe looks down upon all that he has made.

And let it be imagined how these correlative sentiments will be aggravated, if we may be allowed the expression, by the remembered circumstances of the present world. Who that reflects does not perceive something at least in the dispensations of grace and the arrangements of Providence, of a profound contrivance for urging up to the highest point the noble sentiments of which the renewed nature is susceptible? Will the reader, while he consults his best feelings, indulge himself in an anticipation that may illustrate the idea we so hastily sketch? Let him ask then, Who are the occupants of those lofty thrones? These are they who are come from wretched habitations and tattered garments, from servitude and sordid crafts, from want and loathsomeness, from obscurity and contempt; but they were rich in faith, and according to their faith, it is done unto them.—And who are they sitting at their feet, waiting their instructions, and learning there the first lessons of the celestial liturgy? These are they who shone in the world. They were great, and wise, and learned, and admired. With God all things are possible, and he is able to save to the uttermost.—But who shall now imagine the reach and force of the sentiment, on the one side, of admiration, and submission, and gratitude, on the other, of tenderness, forbearance, and beneficence, that may take place, in such a supposed relation, between those who have been great in the world though babes in grace, and those who, though but babes in the world, had attained to the fulness of the stature of men in Christ Jesus?

We presume then, (were the Scriptures silent upon the subject,) that the system of Diversity, so apparently illustrative of the Divine perfections, and so manifestly rich in moral means, possesses a large balance of probability over that of perfect equality.—But the Scriptures are not silent upon the subject. Indeed, upon the general doctrine of the future state, there is

much incidentally communicated that seems often passed over by Christians, with the sentiment, 'When we get to heaven, we shall know all about it.' That is true: but let us take care to know now all that, the knowledge of which may influence our condition when there.

We should be pleased to see some person, qualified by devotional feeling and competent learning, employed in collecting the sacred testimony in a way of careful induction and modest inference. We should be pleased, were the result only to engage the thoughts of Christians where we fear not that they will wander too often, or rest too long, and from whence they can hardly return without some quickened movement on their road.

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Art. IV. 1. *An Essay on the Commutation of Tithes*, to which was adjudged the Bedfordean Gold Medal, by the Bath and West of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. By John Benett, Esq. of Pyt House, Wilts, 8vo. pp. 15. Ridgway, London, 1814.

2. *Letter to John Benett, Esq. on his Essay relative to the Commutation of Tithes*. By the Rev. William Coxe, Archdeacon of Wilts. 8vo. pp. 32. Salisbury.

3. *Reply to the Letter of the Rev. William Coxe, &c.* By John Benett. 8vo. pp. 71. Salisbury.

4. *The Right to Church Property secured, and Commutation of Tithes vindicated*. In a Letter to the Rev. William Coxe. [Signed Robert Gourlay.] 8vo pp. 41. Highley, London, 1815.

5. *Three Additional Letters to J. Benett, Esq. on the Commutation of Tithe*. In Answer to his Reply. By the Rev. William Coxe. 8vo. pp. 91. Salisbury.

6. *Replies to the Three Additional Letters, &c.* By John Benett. pp. 117. Carpenter, London. 1816.

7. *A Letter to Frankland Lewis, Esq. M. P. on Commutation of Tithes*. By the Rev. John Fisher, of Wavendon. 8vo. pp. 31. Rivingtons, London. 1817.

8. *The Sacred and Indefeasible Rights of the Clergy examined, recognised, and vindicated; the Origin, Moral Obligation, and Policy of the Law of Tithes enquired into, with a safe, simple, and effectual Plan for relieving the People from the Obnoxious Burthens imposed upon them by the Church, &c.* Addressed to Lord Viscount Milton, M.P. for Yorkshire. 8vo. pp. 104. Gale and Fenner, London. 1817.

9. *An Appeal to Equity*, showing the Unreasonableness and Injustice of obliging Dissenters to contribute towards the Support of the Church of England. With some Remarks on Tythes. By Phileleutherus. 8vo. pp. 57. Longman, London. 1817.

AT various periods of the history of the Reformed Church of England, has the subject of decimal endowment undergone controversial discussion; but it is under a complexion altogether

of a novel nature, that that discussion has been renewed of late years. It was natural enough that an institution, owing its existence in the Christian Church to the usurpations of Papacy, should come into question, when the authority of the Papal chair had been disowned, and when no countenance could be found for the continuance of the ordinance in the precepts of the Apostles, or in the practice of the primitive church. In most of the Reformed Churches on the Continent, the exhortations of Erasmus, Sagarellus, and others, had prevailed, the right to tithes being disclaimed, with the other incidents of the Popish hierarchy; and in England, the arguments of many of our own reformers, and particularly of Wickliffe, Brute, and Thorpe, were directed, though without success, to the same object. On the abolition of prelacy, at the subsequent period of the Commonwealth, the attack upon Tithes was renewed with increased asperity, and with great powers of argument; particularly by Milton, in his "Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church," and by Anthony Pearson, a justice of Westmoreland, in his "Great Case of Tithes truly stated." Since the re-establishment of an Episcopal hierarchy, the question of 'the divine right of tithes,' has, at various times, been a fruitful source of polemical discussion; but as the Church became secured in her legal title, by long acquiescence and uninterrupted settlement, the *jus divinum* was insisted on with less earnestness, and was ultimately abandoned by tacit consent, as an untenable position. Even Blackstone, the champion of all constituted ordinances, thought it prudent to drop this claim to veneration, and to rest the sanctity of Tithes on their remote antiquity; and his example has, we believe, in modern times, been followed by all who have been at the pains of informing themselves with any degree of precision on the subject.

The concession on the part of the clergy had the effect that concessions generally have. Being content to claim their tithes as a legal right, they were no longer reminded of the incompatibility of the exaction with the practice of the primitive church, and with the scriptural character of a Christian ministry.

It was in the very nature of tithes, as a property, that long and uninterrupted enjoyment should constitute the most secure of all possible titles. It was no poll-tax which might have been abolished after any possible period of exaction, without derangement of the balances and modifications of different classes of property; it was no charge upon fluctuating income, which might have subsided into the source from which it was derived, like any other personal tax, without the smallest political inconvenience; but it was an exclusive charge upon one distinct species of possession, which, while fixed and immutable in its own nature, was a frequent subject of transfer from one individual to

another. This being the case, it very naturally happened, that in all pecuniary transactions which had property in land for their subject, the calculations of value would be defalcated precisely to that amount which constituted the estimated value of the tithe; and as in process of time, all property in land had necessarily become the subject of vendition, the security of the tithe-owner's title would be augmented exactly in that degree that the land-owner had lost his apparent equity to a property for which he had never given a consideration. But a still more formidable fortification to the title of the tithe-owner was contained in another circumstance, which owed its existence to that which had been branded with the name of sacrilege. It might have been foreseen, that so long as that peculiar property which constituted the Church's endowment, was exclusively enjoyed by ecclesiastical persons, in virtue of their fulfilling that particular character, and not by force of any civil acquisition, a door was open to the unembarrassed discussion of the expediency of modifying or abolishing that property, in the same manner as the payment of any other class of public servants is discussed, and upon the unentangled principles of moral and political fitness. It had been a master-piece of policy, had it been brought about with that design, to have provided that the partial impoverishment of the Church should have wrought its permanent security, by implicating a portion, and that no inconsiderable one, of the peculiar property appropriated to its support, in the complicated rights and interests created by unrestricted alienation, as a temporal inheritance. Without the machinations of the Church, however, and in defiance of its appeals, that event was effected; and tithes, in the form of lay-impropriations, having, after occasional struggles, been established as a valid civil property, and recognised as such by the Legislature for nearly three centuries, the faith of the nation has been pledged to their support equally with that of any other lay inheritance; and the Church is now content to look to the *spolia opima*, as the basis of her security.

In the midst of the lulling repose of undisputed enjoyment, an occasion of renewed discussion has gradually sprung up, wholly unforeseen by any previous agitators of the subject, of a character altogether distinct from polemical disquisition, and most momentous to the interests of the country in a political point of view. Those who have been unaccustomed to the consideration of questions of political economy, and who will be unprepared to anticipate consequences, will feel surprise at being told that the occasion of this renewed and anxious discussion was simply this, that the value of tithes had been found to increase in an inordinate disproportion to that of land. This single fact, placed perhaps in different points of view, will be found to contain the principle of nearly all the great evils alleged to arise

from the tithe laws, and on which Parliament has been so recently besought for relief. But in order to acquaint the uninitiated reader with the consequences of this fact, it is necessary to call before his attention the circumstances under which it has arisen. To those who are aware of the revolution which has taken place in modern times, in the principles of agriculture, it might be enough to remind them that the tithe, in its legal sense, is a tenth part of the *gross* produce of the land. In that single statement is contained the whole history of the grievance ; but to save our readers the trouble of seeking for the inference, we will proceed to further elucidation.

When tithes were first introduced into this country, *capital*, as applied to agriculture, was almost, if not entirely, unknown. The land was either in a state of spontaneous pasture, or it was in tillage ; and that tillage was the employment, not of hired labourers, requiring a stated capital for the payment of their wages, but of the inferior tenantry, as a part of their bounden duty. It is clear, then, that the *gross* produce and the *net* produce, would, with the slight exception of the expense of seed and farming utensils, be synonymous. A tithe of the *gross* produce, therefore, after deducting the expense of collecting and removing it, was about equivalent to a tithe of the *net* profit ; or, in other words, to a tenth part of the income of the land-owner, so far as that income was derived from the land. As the expense of cultivation gradually increased, the value of the tithe would of course surmount the value of a tenth of the *net* profit ; because the same quantity of produce was taken, without making any proportional allowance for that part which was defalcated from the *gross* produce, to repay the money sunk in cultivation. Supposing, therefore, a sum, equal to one fourth of the value of the whole *gross* produce, to be expended in cultivation, the proportion of the tithe to the tenth of the *net* profit would necessarily be as one tenth of the whole to one tenth of three-fourths. The positive value of the tithe was not only increased because it was a tenth of the increased produce, but its *relative* value was increased because it was a property compounded of a tenth of the produce of the land, and a tenth of the profits of the capital sunk in cultivation. Again, taking the value of three-fourths of the produce as the *net* profit of the cultivator, it is equally obvious, that in this state of culture the tithe owner takes a larger portion than a tenth of the income of the land owner, exactly in the degree that a tenth of the whole is larger than a tenth of three-fourths ; that is to say, he takes two fifteenths, or something between a seventh and an eighth. If the reader will pursue this arithmetical process, he will find, that in proportion as the money expended in cultivation approaches nearer and nearer to the value of the produce, the discrepancy between the relative value of the gross tenth and the *net* profit, becomes

greater and greater, till at a certain point the whole profit is extinguished in the tithe.

Had England never become a great commercial country, the amount of this discrepancy would, in all probability, never have been of sufficient magnitude to have excited public solicitude or justified complaint. But the principle of the grievance, which had lain dormant and unnoticed for centuries, was at length called into action by a change of system originating almost wholly in commercial prosperity. The great principles of commerce, estimating a large and actively-employed capital as the foundation of wealth, found their way into agriculture; while the overflowings of commercial affluence afforded the means for putting those principles into practice. In the mean time, aided by the demand for human labour, occasioned by unlimited trade and manufactures, the population, and with it the consumption of agricultural produce, increased in a ratio which, while it operated as the most powerful stimulus to the agriculturist, seemed to mock his most vigorous efforts to provide for. It was then that the limits of the power of production possessed by the soil became a question of the first importance in political economy, and that agriculture was generally taken up as an organized science, by men standing foremost in the ranks of opulence and intelligence. The result is probably one of the grandest and most successful efforts of human power on a large scale, that the history of science records. To the united operations of SKILL and CAPITAL, it seemed as if nature herself had no powers of opposition: it was not bleakness, nor barrenness, nor exhaustion, nor poverty, that could oppose a barrier. The names of common, and waste, and moor, became almost forgotten. Small farms, with their small capitals and racking management, were consolidated into such tracts as afforded the capability for an improved system of husbandry, and a union of labour, skill, and capital; and by the invention and introduction of machinery, a momentum was given to the operations of labour, amounting almost to the imaginary processes of gnostic fiction, while by diminishing the expense of those operations, it enabled the grower to bring his produce to the market at a cheaper price\*.

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\* The celebrated feat of Robin Goodfellow,

- \* When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,
- \* His shadowy flail had thresh'd the corn,
- \* That ten day-labourers could not end,'

is marvellous enough; but it seems to have been reserved for human ingenuity to rival even the goblin himself. The threshing machine alone is computed to have increased the value of our consumable corn, to the amount of four millions of money. See Preston *on the Corn Laws*, p. 31.

In the midst of all this success, and of the activity and energy inspired by it, it was a mortifying discovery to the agriculturist, that while even nature herself became subservient to his mandate, there existed, in a political institution, an obstacle of the most insurmountable nature to advancing cultivation. But the extent of this obstacle was not all at once revealed. The wisdom of a previous age, legislating as it were by anticipation, had provided that on the reclaiming of *barren* lands, those which had never paid any tithe at all, should continue tithe-free for seven years, and those that had only paid some inferior kind of tithe, as of wool, &c. should remain for seven years chargeable only with such tithes as they had previously paid. As the inclosure and improvement of waste lands were among the most important and arduous measures of modern agriculture, and as the immense expense incurred in reclaiming them, would, in most cases, have rendered an uncompromised right of tithe ruinous to the cultivator, the relief held out by this enactment was embraced with no small complacency by the farmer and the land-owner. Doubts however arose, (and on what will not doubts arise?) as to the precise extent of the intended application of the law. The parties implicated, resorted for a solution of those doubts to the courts; and when the operation of the statute came to be discussed before the judges, it was found to be crumbling to pieces in their hands. Upon distinctions, we believe logically correct in themselves, between lands *barren sicut naturæ*, and lands *barren quoad agriculturam*, with other technical reasonings of a similar nature, the great mass of proprietors had the satisfaction of seeing the statute of Edward VI. converted into a dead letter for all their purposes of improvement. Even this grievance, however, in part included its own remedy. It was obvious that in all cases where improvements of this kind were in contemplation, if the full demand of the tithe would have neutralized the expected profit, or have converted that profit into loss, the measure itself would not proceed. Wherever, therefore, any great increase of produce was to be expected, it was the obvious interest of the tithe owner to come to some arrangement with the proprietors, which should leave a sufficient surplus of profit in their hands, to form an inducement to carrying the measure into execution. When the tithes were in the hands of a clerical owner, particularly of a resident one, it would rarely happen that he would incur the odium of standing out against the whole mass of proprietors, in a measure affecting their common interests; and when they were in those of an improvisor, he would commonly have an equivalent, if not a superior interest, in the improvement of the land. But still cases would occur, and did occur, where the stubbornness or tenacity of an individual would paralyze, if not

defeat, the most beneficial operations. Even supposing the full demand of tithes to be persisted in, there might, in some cases, be a balance in favour of the cultivators, upon the computation of profit, which an avaricious tithe owner might rely upon as sufficient to prevent the abandonment of the design, although by no means a compensation for the expenditure of capital, of labour, and of skill, necessary to bring the land into a state of fertility. In other cases the incumbent might be non-resident, and therefore indifferent to the good-will of his parishioners; or he might be at previous enmity with them, and so no chance of adjustment on either side. In some instances too there might be a misapprehension of the intended object of the arrangement, and in others the incumbent might resist from a principle of zeal for the interests of the church, or of 'duty to his successors;' a commodious form of expression adopted by many who would never lose a night's rest, if the whole series of their successors were strung *head and stern*, as a mariner would term it, at the bottom of the sea.

Hitherto we have been considering the operation of tithes on improvements extending over large tracts of land comprehending a variety of interests, and which have been carried on under the general name of inclosures, and sanctioned by specific Acts of Parliament. With respect to individual improvements, the obstacle was far more appalling; for besides being open to all the inconveniences of parochial inclosures, they were subject to this intolerable grievance, that as no incumbent was competent, without the aid of parliament, to bind his successor, however moderate or rationally inclined the existing tithe-owner might be in coming to an arrangement which should enable the proprietor to pursue his proposed undertaking, the improvement should no sooner be effected, and grateful Nature about to repay the bounty which had been bestowed on her, than the death or resignation of the incumbent might immediately turn the tables upon the cultivator, and an unqualified demand of the full tithe terminate his prospect of well-earned profit, if not effect his ruin. In various other ways the system was inimical to the advancement of agricultural science. There were some articles of cultivation which were so bulky, or the raising of which involved so great an expense in the first instance, that however sanguine the prospects of success, the liability to tithe amounted to a peremptory prohibition. In two particular instances, where the subjects of cultivation were of great national importance, and the supply of the foreign article took a vast sum of money annually out of the kingdom, the legislature had interfered, having in the reign of William and Mary, restricted the tithe of hemp and flax to five shillings *per acre* for a limited period, which restriction was made perpetual in the reign of George I., and hav-

ing pursued the same measure in the reign of George II. with respect to madder, for fourteen years, which restriction was, at the expiration of that term, renewed for the same period. But here the relief ended, and the various articles of cultivation, and systems of husbandry which the progress of science from time to time suggested, had to struggle against the tithe-man as they could, and were often found impracticable. Thus it is remarked by Mr. Gourlay, an intelligent Scotchman, farming in Wiltshire : ' Tithe trenches deepest against great permanent improvements, such as may be effected by the capital of the proprietor ; but in the more temporary economy of a tenant's practice, it is also quite insurmountable in many cases. Thus in Scotland, the practice of soiling with green food, or stall feeding with turnips, which gives such additional employment to labourers and generates so much manure, cannot be effected under the tithe system. The withdrawing of a tenth of such bulky articles as cut grass, vetches, and turnips from the farm, would not only totally counteract a principal object of this admirable practice, viz. the increase of manure, but might turn the scale from profit entirely to loss. Nor could the agreement of *present* parties give sufficient security for the introduction of such improvement. The practice of it requires not only accommodation in the way of building, &c. but steady system in the field, and a conformity in the general management.'

Other instances of a similar nature occurred in different parts of the country, in the course of experimental practice, and have been detailed from time to time by the writers on agriculture. In the mean time, as the knowledge of the principles of political economy became more extended, and the cultivation of them more successful, these circumstances assumed a very serious character. It had at length come to be admitted among the principles of that science, not only that it was the first business of a state to provide food for its population, but ' that agriculture was the immediate source of human provision ; that trade conduced to the production of provision only as it promoted agriculture ; and that the whole system of commerce, vast and various as it was, had no other public importance than its subserviency to this end.'\* It was proved too, beyond the risk of controversy, that the best interests of the community were involved in the encouragement of tillage, while the predominance of pasturage diminished at once the quantity of labour and of provision. But what was the operation of the tithe ? It was in the most direct way that of a bounty upon pasture, while upon tillage its oppression increased precisely in the degree that the industry and capital of the farmer were

\* Paley's *Moral and Political Philosophy*, Vol. II. p. 415.

bestowed upon it. That this was practically true, and not merely so in theory, is capable of abundant proof. We take the first illustration of it that comes in our way, in the following extract from an Account of the Vale of Skipton, in a letter from a gentleman in that neighbourhood, to Messrs. Rennie and Co. printed by the Board of Agriculture.\* ‘ Tithes are generally collected in kind, and are very reluctantly and ill paid. Since the introduction of grazing into the country, they are reduced in an astonishing degree, the lands which are most profitable to the occupier, are least, or indeed not at all so, to the clergyman;—he must either submit to this, or involve himself in a tedious and expensive law suit for agistment tithe, perhaps against an obstinate and powerful combination of the farmers and land owners. It is the opinion of the most intelligent people here, that the present mode of collecting tithes is one principal cause of the high price of corn. Large quantities are continued in grass, which would be ploughed to advantage, if a certain and general commutation for tithes could be established.’

But all these political evils were as nothing, when compared with the immediate and extensive moral evil arising from the system in the continual contention and enmity between the tithe owner and the tithe payer, and the excitement of the malignant and unchristian passions. Of the amount of this evil the domestic history of almost every village in the kingdom, and particularly of those where tithe was taken in kind, furnishes the illustration. In numberless instances the degree of exasperation produced by it, not only effected an entire alienation between the pastor and his parishioners, but excited the latter to the commission of the most indefensible extremities. Thus, in the parish of Turringdon, in the Isle of Ely, which was insulated, and surrounded by deep dykes, the rector being dissatisfied with an inadequate composition, declared his determination to take the tithes in kind. The farmers accordingly set them out, and having conveyed their harvest over the temporary bridges constructed across the dykes for that purpose, immediately destroyed the bridges, leaving the tithe to rot upon the ground.† Of the extent of the malignancy thus engendered, the clergy complained, as might be expected, very feelingly; and to those unlettered in the springs of human conduct, with great appearance of justice. ‘ It was often of very little consequence, (said a late bishop of Peterborough,‡) that a clergyman was a good

\* In the Appendix to Messrs. Rennie’s *Agricultural Survey of Yorkshire*.

† This fact was stated by the Earl of Sandwich in the House of Lords, in the Debate on the Ilmington Inclosure Bill, 1781.

‡ Dr. Hinchliff.

‘ man, that he was benevolent, kind, meek, and generous, that he possessed every Christian and moral virtue, that he laboured incessantly, as well by precept as example, in the care and instruction of his flock. If he preached like an angel, he would often, indeed almost always, preach in vain, while those to whom he addressed himself had conceived prejudices and resentments against him ; and for what ? because only he was a partaker of their property and labours. He (the Bishop) presumed he need not press this point upon his learned brethren ; they knew it. It was notorious, and familiar by common observation and experience. The interest of the incumbent was deemed incompatible with the interest of his parishioners, and the merit of the ecclesiastic was viewed through a wrong and partial medium, when his fair legal established claims came to be balanced against the interest of his parishioners. The pastor was in short totally sunk in the tithe-collector, and not what he recommended, but what he sought or demanded, was the object which generally was kept up to the eye of those called upon to discharge it.’\*

Such was the statement publicly made by a dignitary of the Established Church ; and if such then were the consequences of the tithe-system in a case where the incumbent had every quality which could tend to the production of a contrary feeling, what must they have been in the numberless instances which must necessarily occur in an Endowed Church, where the garb of the ecclesiastic had been assumed for lucre’s sake, and where (to use the language of the Reverend Prelate, in a stronger sense than we presume him to have intended) ‘the pastor was (indeed) totally sunk in the tithe collector,’ and sought, not the flock, but the fleece. But even admitting, what was probably the fact, that in a majority of instances the payers of tithes were actuated by feelings of prejudice, dislike, and perverseness, how does that affect the question—the simple question whether it was politic or rational for the nation to support its clergy by a system of taxation which, in the nature of things, and as human beings are constituted, inevitably must and would produce those effects,—whether, in short, the laws were to be made for mankind as they are, or, as they are not ? It is perhaps impossible to name a tax which contains in its own nature a tendency to misunderstanding and dislike between the payer and the receiver, equal to that of tithe taken in kind. ‘ Its immediate action, even where parties are well disposed, is positively troublesome and wasteful. In the most busy seasons of the year, notices must be given ; and much time and attention taken up by the process of decimal division. The operations

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\* Debate on the Ilmington Inclosure Bill.

' of the cultivator are in the way of the tithe-drawer; and the tithe-drawer's operations interfere with those of the cultivator.'\* Besides, there is in every man a natural repugnancy to be deprived of that which has all the distinctive and external circumstances of being specifically his own, as opposed to a mere medium of currency. Of that which has been raised by his own labour, nurtured by his own care, and which his own capital, skill, and anxiety, have been exclusively concerned in producing, there are few who can with much complacency admit another as a specific sharer. Those who know the difference between paying rent through the medium of bank notes, and through the medium of a distress, will understand this very readily. Considered as a political evil, this circumstance may appear to be of small account; but we believe it in reality to be far otherwise. The ingenuous Paley has given it its full weight. ' With respect to the encouragement of husbandry; (he remarks,) in this, as in every other employment, the true reward of industry is in the price and sale of the produce. The exclusive right to the produce is the only incitement which acts constantly and universally; the only spring which keeps human labour in motion. All therefore that the laws can do is to secure this right to the occupier of the ground, that is, to constitute such a system of tenure that the full and entire advantage of every improvement go to the benefit of the improver; that every man work for himself, and not for another; and that no one share in the profit, who does not assist in the production.'† Somewhat further he resumes. ' But secondly, agriculture is discouraged by every constitution of landed property which lets in those who have no concern in the improvement to a participation of the profit. This objection is applicable to all such customs of manors as subject the proprietor, upon the death of the lord or tenant, or the alienation of the estate, to a fine apportioned to the improved value of the land. But of all institutions which are in this way adverse to cultivation and improvement, none is so noxious as that of tithes. A claimant here enters into the produce, who contributed no assistance whatever to the production. When years perhaps of care and toil have matured an improvement; when the husbandman sees new crops ripening to his skill and industry; the moment he is ready to put his sickle to the grain, he finds himself compelled to divide his harvest with a stranger.'‡

\* *Right to Church Property secured.* p. 26.

† *Principles,* Vol. II. p. 401.

‡ *Principles,* Vol. II. p. 448.

Having every desire that our observations on this subject should

Our readers are now in possession of a rapid outline of those circumstances under which, as they are already informed, the tithe laws have in modern times become the subject of renewed discussion. On the 6th of April, 1781, a motion was made in the House of Lords, by the late Earl Bathurst, that their lordships should on a succeeding day resolve themselves into a committee to take into consideration the expediency of giving to the clergy, in certain cases, an adequate portion of land or other compensation in lieu of tithes.\* Without entering upon any examination of the domestic details of the country at that period, it is sufficiently obvious from the mere fact of such a motion being made, that a strong and impatient sensation prevailed out of doors, of the increasing oppression of the system. Six and thirty years have now elapsed since that motion was made, and negatived; and during by far the greater part of that period, the burden has continued to be borne in silent suffering, with only an occasional solitary complaint from some particular class of the agricultural community, praying relief from some peculiarly intolerable operation of that system; at least without any vigorous or united attempt to call for the sense of the nation and the legislature upon the necessity of making some modifica-

be wholly governed by candour, we would not overlook the fact, that instances have been brought forward sufficiently authenticated, of parishes where the tithe is taken in kind, having rivalled if not excelled, in their state of cultivation, contiguous districts where the tithe was compounded, and even some which were discharged of tithe. That such instances have existed, we do not entertain the smallest doubt, nor is there any thing surprising in it to those who are aware of the multitude of fortuitous circumstances on which the state of cultivation in any district, at any given period of time, is dependent. But every candid reasoner is aware, that in inductions of the nature of those on which our knowledge of the operation of the tithe system is founded, the question must be, what is the general result, and not what are the partial exceptions. Of that result, we believe no unprejudiced person who has had opportunities of extensive observation, can entertain any doubt. Let us see what is the impression derived from a general inquiry in one of our greatest corn counties. 'In every case where tithes in kind are payable and insisted upon, improvements slacken. This general rule will be found without exception, and a great majority of the Hertfordshire rectors are so sensible of this important truth, that they are satisfied with moderate compositions, the measure thereof following the improvement with a slow and steady pace, while a living profit to the improver is constantly kept in view. Were it not for this prudent moderation, there would be an end to boneing, chalking, top-dressing, and the other very expensive improvements of the county.'—Walker's *Agric. Survey of Herts.* 74.

\* See Journals, Lords, Vol. xxxvi. p. 264.

tion in a plan of taxation containing in it a principle of advancing rapacity, unforeseen indeed, and unpremeditated in its origin, but which has left all the machinations of revenue financiers at an immeasurable distance behind it, in the rapidity and success of its progress. During the greater part of that period, the country has been involved in continental war ; and though labouring under the united weight of tithes and war taxes, the large returns which the farmer could obtain for his produce, while he had the command of the market at war prices, induced him to submit without resistance to the unrestrained demands of the tithe-owner, knowing, as he did, that redress was hopeless. For the greater part of those six and thirty years, then, the owners of tithes continued to observe, with no other sensation than that of complacency, the rapid increase of their incomes, and the farmer continued to pay his tithe with no other consequence than that of gradual alienation from those whom, in many instances perhaps unjustly, he identified with the oppression of a system which had become odious even to a proverb. But the scene shifted, and, like most other unexpected and violent transitions, it put the sufferers upon a critical examination of the causes of the predicament in which they found themselves placed. They looked upon each other and said, ‘ How has this evil come upon us ? ’ And one of the results of that inquiry naturally was, to point their attention to those burdens, which, under the imposing shelter of war profits and war prices, had been gradually advancing upon them, till they had arrived at an amount which it was next to impossible to sustain with an open market and reduced consumption.

Under this state of things, the House of Commons at last rung with the supplications of the agricultural community, for relief against the oppression of the tithe laws, and the subject of commutation was again revived with an increased interest of discussion, and certainly with no inconsiderable degree of energy on both sides. Parliament has, indeed, in its wisdom, decided that the Commutation of tithes is not a measure which it is expedient to venture upon, and to some extent the discussion has in consequence dropped that earnestness and vehemence of tone and manner which it retained while the question was open to the immediate practical consequences of that discussion ; but that the subject itself is thereby set at rest, can no more be predicated of it, than it can be of the question of Catholic Emancipation, that it was finally decided by the resolution of the Commons in May last, or of Reform in Representation, that it was conclusively negatived by the ministerial majority on Sir F. Burdett’s motion of the 20th of the same month.

After all this discussion, however, the real question at issue is still egregiously misunderstood by great numbers. It is

treated and represented as a question of mere party animosity between the clergy and the maintainers of their rights on the one hand, and those who dislike and revile the clergy on the other. We believe that nothing can be more unjust than this description. On very efficient means of information, we are convinced, that the revival of the subject of Commutation, during the last two sessions of parliament, has been almost exclusively the work of persons attached to the Establishment, and that it never was contemplated by any of them upon any other principle than that of *equivalent*. The question intended to be raised by them, was not whether the clergy were well entitled to be sharers of our property, but whether political wisdom, and regard to our national resources, did not require that a mode of contribution should be discovered which should maintain the Church in its accustomed affluence, without paralyzing the energies of the country, and demoralizing the feelings of the people. That the discussion has had any leaning towards the old controversy on the *right* to church property, we really believe the maintainers of that right have to thank themselves. The title to tithes, as a legal possession, was far too deeply rooted in public faith, and the character of the age was far too much opposed to revolutionary measures, for any man of common sense to think of calling upon the legislature to go into the historical question of the origin of the tithe owner's title; when an enjoyment of centuries, woven into the whole system of real property, in all its complicate connexions and dependencies, had rendered that origin perfectly immaterial. Had we been employed in forming or re-organizing a state, this question would have had its full importance; but nothing could be further from the circumstances of the times, than the disposition to any such employment. The champions of church property, however, overlooking their real and substantial security, met the question of Commutation, not as we humbly apprehend it would have been prudent to meet it, on the unencumbered ground of fair statistical discussion, and in the tone of rational moderation and vigilance; but with an inconsiderate zeal, for which we believe the clergy at large have too much good sense to thank them, they called forth in their defence the long slumbering phraseology of papal canons and black letter law, and with all the solemnity of unsuspecting confidence, exhorted the intermeddlers to desist from the unholy and impracticable interference with that which was 'of divine origin,' and of 'inherent and indefeasible right.' These were their trusted resources, and with what success they have resorted to them, we shall take the opportunity of a future number to make some brief inquiry. However unnecessary the introduction of the subject might be for the purposes of the discussion, the impatience of

falsehood is a sensation which we can neither expect nor desire to find absent from the human character; and if there were some who thought it their duty to surround the Church with such fortifications as these, there were others who thought it *their* duty to tell them, that at this time of day mankind are *not* to be tricked out of common sense with a jugglery. The political question is however our present concern, and as space will not allow us to do more, we shall confine ourselves strictly to that.

Nothing can be more disingenuous than the logical trickery resorted to by the defenders of tithes, to meet the complaints which have been made of their effects upon cultivation. The main drift of their argument is, that tithes are complained of merely because they are a burthen upon the land; and that we have just as much right to complain that we have to pay rent or taxes, or any other burthen:—that the tithe-owner has as good, and even a better, because a more ancient title\* to his tithe, than the landlord to his rent: that it is, in fact, nothing more than an *additional rent*, which the farmer calculates upon when he agrees for his farm, and regulates his terms accordingly. This is worse than trifling, because it is dishonest. Of tithes, simply as a burthen upon the land, the cultivator has no more right to complain, than he has of any other legal or conventional burthen; and to whom he pays them signifies but little. But they are *not* complained of *because* they are a burthen upon the land, but because they are a burthen which increases, not by reference to the *profits* of the cultivator, but by reference to his *produce*;—because the latter is no measure of the former; and because the more highly he cultivates his farm, the more violent is the discrepancy between them, and necessarily, in the same ratio, the more oppressive the tithe. The cultivator prays, not to be *exempted* from burthens, but that those burthens may be measured by his capacity;—that they may be measured, not by his loss, but by his gain;—that they may be imposed, not upon his expenditure, but upon the profits of his expenditure. We cannot agree with Mr. Coxe on the intemperance of this demand; we see nothing revolutionary, nothing of mere clamour, nothing dishonest in it. Had agriculture never emerged from its state of infancy, had it never been conducted upon the principles of trade, we do not believe the evil would have been commensurate with the outcry, and therefore we should have deprecated it on the same principle that we deprecate all need-

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\* We are repeatedly exhorted to consider that tithes are a tenure more ancient in this country than any other: that is to say, we suppose, that before the people were entitled to any part of the produce, the priests were entitled to take a tenth part from them. This is above our comprehension.

less change; but however right it may be that the genealogy of an institution should sanctify its petty vices, there is a degree of enormity to which the cloak of antiquity will not extend, and there is a power in public intelligence, when imperiously called into action, which can dismantle the most venerable system of the shroud of ages, and expose it in abstract and essential nakedness. Looking therefore at the amazing change of system which *has* taken place in modern times in rural economy, we see nothing in the clamour against tithes, but what was to be expected, what is unavoidable, and what must continue so long as a commutation shall remain unaccomplished.

The check opposed to the spirit of enterprise, is a matter of too serious importance to be trifled with, and the supporters of tithes have found it necessary to endeavour to get rid of this imputation. But how have they succeeded? 'A proper calculation (says Mr. Coxe) would prove that the charge of tithes prevents the cultivation of such land only as, in its very nature, is too poor or too unfavourably situated, to repay the expence of cultivation.' *Coxe's First Letter*, p. 15. This is begging the question with a vengeance! Will Mr. Coxe have the kindness to inform us by what species of logic it appears, that because some land 'is too poor, or too unfavourably situated to repay the expense of cultivation' under the operation of a tax which becomes oppressive exactly in proportion as the cultivation is expensive, that *therefore* the land would not repay the expense if the tax were removed? 'Many assumed calculations (Mr. C. adds in another place) have been exhibited to show the injurious operation of tithes, and to prove that in instances of converting waste land to tillage, the charge of tithe has increased the expences beyond the returns, and absolutely amounted to a prohibition. In fact, the plans of many distinguished agriculturists are *so grand*, and the execution *so expensive*, that they are utterly impracticable by the farmer, who makes agriculture his livelihood, and who, in seeking his own profit, produces a real advantage to the country. *It is therefore neither reasonable nor just to adduce calculations founded on such chargeable experiments*; and to represent, as a prohibition to improvement, so petty a deduction\* as the value of tithe, which in no case can exceed a few shillings per acre. *The conclusion ought rather to have been that such attempts were injudicious, or ignorantly conducted*; or what often happens, that an arable course was adopted, not for the sake of profit, but for the sake of reclaiming rough land

\* Within exactly seven pages of this passage, Mr. Coxe designates tithe as a 'property amounting to the value of nearly one fourth of the rental of the whole kingdom.'—*Three additional Letters*, p. 58.

‘to a state of pasture.’ It really is to us perfectly incomprehensible how a gentleman of Mr. Coxe’s understanding and intelligence, can persuade himself to commit to writing, much less to print, any thing so illiberal and so contemptible as the above. Is he really ignorant of the importance of a spirit of enterprise and experiment? Has he yet to learn that nearly every thing deserving the name of advancement in science, owes its very existence to it? And would he seriously have us believe that improvements upon a bold scale ought not to be projected, and that it is no grievance if such improvements only are defeated? And is this—can this be the gentleman who complains that his opponents<sup>1</sup> do not sufficiently attend to the fundamental maxims of political economy? What says Adam Smith, a writer who has never, to our knowledge, been charged with want of information on that head? ‘The tithe (says he), as it is frequently a very unequal tax upon the land, so it is always a great discouragement both to the improvements of the landlord, and to the cultivation of the farmer. *The one cannot venture to make the most important, which are generally the most expensive improvements, nor the other to raise the most valuable which are generally the most expensive crops, when the Church, which lays out no expense, is to share so very largely in the profit.*<sup>2</sup> After all, let us hear the ingenuous statement of a plain practical man. ‘Where the land is tithe free, and occupied by the owner, his interest (if he knows it,) and that of the public, exactly tally; the land will be brought to and continued in a proper state of manurage. *It is possible, in such cases, the public will have the best of the bargain;* and land, thus circumstanced, though of the very worst quality, bemended for ever, and at an expense for which that amendment will never compensate the improver, who, actuated by a hope of future gain, which may never be realized, or the honest pride of decorating his rocks and sands with the cheerful face of smiling plenty, will build his tower before he calculates the expense. But if the rector is to share crops, he will balance; a few plain figures will settle the profit to the rector, and the loss to himself; the lands will remain uncultivated, and the public never be benefited by the crops they would otherwise yield.’<sup>3</sup> We leave the reader to contrast this statement with Mr. Coxe’s, at his leisure: it would be an insult to his understanding to remark further upon it.

We have been at some pains to satisfy ourselves of the real cause that a Commutation of tithes is resisted on the part of the Church, because we are convinced that tithes are in their own

• Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. 3. p. 75.

† Walker’s *Agricultural Survey of Hertfordshire*, p. 74.

nature a property so vexatious and so troublesome, that there must be something more than the mere dislike of interference, to prevent the clergy's embracing with willingness the opportunity of exchanging so objectionable a property for one so eligible as a money payment regulated by the price of provisions. It is however a notorious fact, that the majority of the clergy, particularly the rectorial and dignified classes, are decidedly adverse to Commutation. The cause we believe to be this. The great objection to tithes being that they increase in value in an inordinate disproportion to the value of land, in consequence of their being measured by the produce and not by the profit, any method of commutation which should fail to remove this evil, would be futile for all the purposes of agricultural improvement or political economy.\* The modes, therefore, proposed for commuting tithes, have been to convert the present incomes of the clergy arising from the tithes into an equivalent, either in land or in money, regulated in amount at stated intervals, by reference to the rise or fall in the price of corn on the average of those intervals, so as to preserve the *relative value* of the present income, without compounding it of that, and the increased or decreased quantity of titheable produce at the times of making the alterations. Nothing short of this, in the shape of commutation, would be worth the trouble of accomplishing; for although the power of drawing the tithe in kind might be abolished, it would be tithe still, and nothing but tithe, for all the destructive purposes we have adverted to in the commencement of this article. Here then is the obstacle which the clergy cannot get over; for as the probability is that the quantity of produce will continue to increase, rather than to decrease, and that improvements will still be effected, a commutation at the present value of the tithes, whether for land or corn-rent, would destroy the contingency of future increase of income. The real question then between the clergy and the agricultural interest, or to speak more correctly, the national interest, is, as has been candidly stated by one of the advocates of tithes, 'whether the clergy ought to require, or the substantial interests of the Church do require, that their incomes should increase faster than that of landed estates in general.'† This is a question on which it will unavoidably happen that different individuals will entertain different opinions. It is certain that some very acute writers have considered wealth as having a tendency to diminish rather than to increase the influence of the clergy.

\* Of this nature is the plan suggested by Mr. Davis, of Longleat, in the Bath Society Papers on Agriculture. Vol. VIII. p. 239.

† See *An Enquiry concerning the influence of Tithes on Agriculture*. By the Rev. John Howlett. 1801. p. 52.

Hume, disliking that influence, vindicates the policy of an opulent establishment, as a bribe which purchases the useful inactivity of the priesthood. They have no longer, he supposes, any temptation to court a dangerous dominion over the minds of the people, because they are independent of it. And Mr. Gourlay has told us, in very unceremonious language, that 'the Reformed Church of Scotland, being sweated down to most Christian poverty, began to fight, in reality, the good fight ; and in the course of a very short time, its poor but enthusiastic ministers accomplished a revolution in the morals of the people, not perhaps to be paralleled in the pages of history. The clergy, for a season, left entirely destitute, acquired, at last, by the exercise of their genuine duties, an influence in the country, which all the wealth and power of Papal prelacy could not retain. They were heard in Parliament ; and after a review of the captured property of the Church, a rational establishment was provided for them, out of the commuted tithes, as well as for the admirable institution of parochial schools.\* We believe we may safely say, that the clergy of Scotland where tithes were commuted long before they had arrived at that relative value which they now possess in England, would not suffer in point of respectability or esteem by comparison with those of any other establishment.

With respect to the specific method of accomplishing a commutation, we are fully aware that it is a matter of great and stubborn difficulty, and that the detail is sufficiently complicated and laborious almost to intimidate the most skilful ; but we know also that measures of still greater and more stubborn difficulty have been accomplished by resolute and energetic perseverance. What is more, we have the testimony of one of the greatest property lawyers that this or any generation has produced, and who is moreover attached to the Establishment, that the measure is practicable, and requires only the concurrence of Government to be effected with success.† Of the numerous propositions

\* *Right to Church Property secured, &c.* p. 21.

† 'Anxious as the agricultural interests are for a modification of the tithe laws—for a commutation which shall place them on a just footing—which shall on the one hand, secure to the clergy the fair value of their tithes, without the necessity of litigation, and without the liability to which they are exposed of frauds, &c. and on the other hand, shall protect the farmer from oppression, and from the liability to be taxed for his superior capital, skill, and industry, (*a plan which is feasible and may easily be accomplished, when Government shall lend its aid to this measure of justice and policy,*) no good or rational man would wish to overthrow our present institution, and commence the mad career of revolution, anarchy, and confusion.' *Preston's Address to the Fundholder, &c.* p. 23.

already before the public, we cannot now attempt to enter upon a particular examination; but we would remark that with regard to the nature of the substitute, it seems hardly to admit of a doubt that a corn-rent is substantially the least open to objection of any that has been suggested. Indeed, the difficulties attendant upon a commutation for land, are so insurmountable, that we are astonished the idea should have been advocated by so many men of intelligence and talent. Independently of the great difficulty of procuring land eligibly situated to the extent to which it would be required for a general commutation, and of the evil of locking up such a quantity of property in the fetters of mortmain, (an evil, the amount of which may be estimated from the fact, that commissioners under inclosure acts, usually find the clergyman entitled to one-fifth or one-sixth of the tillage land, and one-eighth or one-ninth of the pasture,) how can the land-owners be compelled to provide the funds for the purchase of the Church estates; and if they did, how are the clergy to stock them; how can they in all cases be secure of tenants\*; and how can their successors be guaranteed against destructive dilapidations? The methods which we have seen proposed to remove these difficulties, are all more objectionable than the difficulties themselves. Besides, supposing even that the commuting for land was optional on the part of the proprietors, which would, we apprehend, cause endless confusion and embarrassment, we do not believe that in that case the commutation would even be effected to any great extent. The improbability is strongly put in a printed letter which we have seen, purporting to be addressed to John Benett, of Pythouse, Esq., by Mr. James Dean, an eminent Surveyor of Exeter. 'Suppose,' says he, 'for the present, that all the land-owners are ready to purchase, provided there is a probability of their receiving a reasonable return for their money; and that the tithe owners are ready to sell, in case their incomes are not to be diminished by the transfer; let us examine, by a short calculation, how these parties are likely to agree. A. has an estate of 300 acres, whereof 100 are meadow and pasture, and 200 arable. The meadow and pasture being averaged at 3*l.* per acre, and the arable at 39*s.*, the amount of rent will be 600*l.* Now taking the value of the tithe of the meadow and pasture equal to one eighth part, or 12*½* average acres, and the annual value of 3*l.* per acre, the amount will be 37*l.* 10*s.*; and taking the arable at

\* In the debate on the Ilmington Inclosure Bill, the Bishop of St. David's (Dr. Warren) mentioned an instance which had come to his own knowledge, in the diocese of Lincoln, in which, after the allotment in lieu of tithes was made and fenced, nobody would offer himself as a tenant. As the benefice produced nothing, the services of the Church were consequently discontinued.

' one-fifth part, or 40 average acres, and the annual value at  
' 30*s.* per acre, the amount will be 60*l.*, and together 97*l.* 10*s.*  
' This sum multiplied by 30 years purchase, the usual price of  
' land in your neighbourhood, would make the cost of the tithe  
' little short of 3000*l.* Now let me ask, do you believe that  
' one-fourth of all the land-owners within the circle of your im-  
' mediate acquaintance, would purchase their tithes upon such  
' terms ?

It is undoubtedly true, that in many instances of inclosures, allotments of land in lieu of tithes have been adopted with success; but it is only, we believe, by arrangements like those which take place on inclosures, that the difficulties of the transaction can be surmounted. A corn-rent, on the contrary, is applicable to every circumstance of property, and the objections to it are such as it is within the power of the legislature to obviate. The majority in the number of cases in which this plan has been adopted in modern inclosures, seems to testify its experimental superiority over an equivalent in land. In the diocese of Lincoln, we understand, the plan has been adopted to a great extent, on the recommendation of the Bishop himself, by whom indeed it appears to have been first suggested in that district.

Of the bill lately depending in Parliament for enabling the clergy to grant leases of their tithes, so as to bind their successors, we wish to say a few words, because we are much mistaken if that bill will not be again brought forward in the ensuing session, and its consequences, if passed into a law, are, in our view, more important than is generally understood. The success of the measure does appear to us a matter of great concern to the agricultural community, for unless there shall turn out to be some radical defect in the machinery of the bill, it must succeed in obtaining one of the leading objects of commutation in a large proportion of cases. One of those objects we have seen, is to substitute some certain payment for a known period, in lieu of all the fluctuating and capricious demands to which the farmer is now liable at the will of the tithe-owner. He has then some certain data to act upon, and he may proceed to calculate upon the probable results of improvements, with little other risk than the unavoidable contingencies of the seasons. It is very true that there is nothing now to prevent the clergyman from making a lease of his tithes during his own incumbency, and it may perhaps be said, that neither the avidity of the farmer to obtain such lease, or the willingness of the tithe-owners to grant it, is so conspicuous as to hold out a prospect of any material benefit from the proposed enactment. But in point of fact, a lease subject to all the determinations of incumbency, in addition to the natural uncertainty of human life, is, for the purpose of improvements, very little better than no lease at all; and in many cases

much worse, since its only effect may be to entrap the farmer into calculations which, on the sudden avoidance of his lease, and the determination of the successor to take his tithe in kind, may prove his ruin. That the plan too of granting leases of the tithes to the farmer, has been not more generally adopted hitherto, is, we think, in a considerable degree to be referred to the difficulty experienced on the part of the tithe-owner of getting a rent by any means adequate to the real value of the tithe; and if we can shew that such difficulty arises almost entirely from the nature of the leases under the existing law, we shall to that extent have done away the objection to the utility of the proposed Act, arising from the fact that there is no general desire to make arrangements for leases of tithes. We have seen that it is principally with regard to improvements and to expensive cultivation, that tithes are injurious to agriculture. Whenever, therefore, it is proposed to the farmer to convert his tithes into a fixed rent, and bind himself to *certain* money payments, whatever may be the success of the season, the question in his mind as to the expediency of that measure will naturally be, what advantages will it hold out to him with a view to increasing the produce of his land by a more expensive system of cultivation. Now, as the law stands at present with regard to clerical leases, we have only to repeat what we have just remarked, that for all the purposes of improvement, such a lease is about equivalent to no lease at all. What remaining inducement then is there to the farmer to bind himself to a certain unyielding rent, be the season favourable or unfavourable? None, if you call upon him to render a payment equal or nearly equal to the real value of the tithe. He therefore reasons very naturally and very fairly thus: 'If I am to undertake to render a certain sum to you in all events, I must have some equivalent on my part:—I must have some deduction from the real value of the tithe, in the amount of that sum which shall make it worth my while to enter into the undertaking. If I am to pay you the full value of the tithe, or something very near it, you shall take the chance of the seasons with me.' If we are correct in stating this to be the leading cause of the difficulty experienced by the clerical tithe-owner in getting a rent any thing like the value of the tithe, it does not require any chain of reasoning to shew that this difficulty will not apply to cases affording to the farmer a substantial foundation for his calculations upon improved cultivation, by the certainty of their duration for the given period. He will then see it is worth his while to bind himself to a rent very nearly approaching to the present value of the tithe, since by so doing, he will ensure to himself the benefit of an investment of capital in that mode which the nature of his farm, and the progress of agricultural knowledge,

shall point out as the best means of obtaining an increased produce ; and that the operation of the proposed Act would, in consequence, be to advance the rents of tithe leases to the clergy, we can scarcely entertain a doubt. Indeed we are much misinformed, if instances have not already occurred of farmers offering to take leases of their tithes at advanced rents, in case the bill referred to should pass into a law. The great complaint now is, whenever improvements are contemplated, that however considerate and indulgent the present incumbent may be, and however reasonable an arrangement he may be inclined to make to enable the cultivator to carry those improvements into effect, there is no security against an opposite conduct on the part of his successor, who may choose to take his tithe in kind, or insist upon a composition to the full value, and thereby blast the prospects of the farmer after he shall have sunk his capital in the land. It is the great merit of Mr. Newman's bill, that it would enable the tithe owner and the farmer to come to such an arrangement as would enable the latter to prosecute his improvements secure from this danger ; a danger which is admitted even by the advocates of tithes, to amount almost to a prohibition. But it is absurd to go the length of some of the promoters of the measure, and say, that this power of leasing is all that is wanted to remove the grievances of the tithe system. As enabling the clergy to shew that they are willing to enter into any fair arrangement which may remove a leading objection to that system, we should hail the measure of authorizing them to grant such leases ; but it is yet to be shewn that there is not only a power, but a will,—it is yet to be shewn that an optional, discretionary authority,—discretionary in three several stages of its progress ; discretionary, 1st, in the clergyman to grant the lease ; 2dly, in the bishop to consent to it ; and 3dly, in the patron to ratify such consent ; is to have the desired effect of introducing a system of voluntary, virtual commutation for successive periods of years, unobstructed by hostility or prejudice against the cultivator, by misinformation or partial views on the part of the diocesan, or by local interests and motives on that of the patron. For one radical evil of the tithe system too, the measure is wholly remediless ; namely, the inordinately disproportioned advance in the value of tithes, compared with that of land. For even supposing that such leases are generally adopted, yet, on each successive renewal, the rent must be estimated not merely by reference to the average price of corn, as in the case of corn rents, but upon a calculation compounded of that and the *then* amount of the tenth of the produce, under a more expensive system of culture ; so that the tithe rents will still continue to advance<sup>22</sup>

in the same disproportion to the rent of land, as the tithe itself does now, though at more distant periods of time.

We shall here conclude the observations which we have been already drawn into at greater length than we contemplated, on that part of our subject which regards tithes as influencing the operations of agriculture. If these observations have any merit, it is that they have been dictated in the absence of party feeling, and that they are the result of conviction, and not of prejudication. What the sentiments understood to be professed by this Journal may be with regard to the abstract question of the expediency of ecclesiastical establishments, or the propriety of supporting such establishments by compulsory laws, does not, for the purpose of this discussion, signify one iota. Professing ourselves deeply attached to the constitution of this country, and devoted to its constitutional authorities, so long as those authorities shall continue to think the support of the establishment in the existing mode a measure of national policy, we on our parts can do no otherwise than regard the property in tithes as a property equally valid with any other sanctioned by legislative protection; and as such, we should contribute to it upon the same principle that we contribute to any other parliamentary imposition, as a consequence of that social compact, of which, as we claim the benefit, we must take our share of the burden.\* The civil obedience, however, which

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\* The writer of this article (who, whether the information may be pleasing or displeasing to the reader, is certainly not a Dissenter, whatever his sentiments may be with regard to religious establishments as a question of political philosophy,) finds himself under the necessity of differing from an opinion which he believes is entertained by some Dissenters, namely, that a State is not justified in taxing its subjects to the support of religious offices which they do not approve of and cannot conscientiously attend, and consequently, that Dissenters ought not to be called upon to pay tithes to the Establishment.

It appears to him that so long as the support of the Establishment by legal provisions shall be deemed necessary or proper by the constitutional authorities, they have an undoubted right to tax the community of every description for that purpose; and that a difference of opinion entertained by individuals as to the fitness of the *object*, is no more a ground for exemption from contribution, than a difference of opinion on any other question of political economy, is a ground of exemption from payment of the taxes applicable to the measure disapproved. The State enjoins me to pay,—by force of the social compact the State has a right to my obedience; and my paying is the evidence, not of my submission of opinion, but of my civil obedience to the State. Under every possible form of government, individual will must, for all practical purposes, be sacrificed to the public will, as proclaimed by the constituted organs. If the State applies, or

we owe to those 'placed in authority over us,' does not in any way preclude us from meeting the question in any shape in which the advocates of tithes think fit to put it, and we shall accordingly at an early opportunity resume our observations upon claims of another nature, which, if it had rested with us, should still have remained in that obscurity which best befits them.

(*To be continued.*)

orders me to apply the money paid to an object which I do not apprehend to be aid-worthy, that is no ground for my refusal to obey,—or there is an end of civil obedience at once, and the private opinion of every individual becomes the measure of his civil submission. All this has nothing to do with the question of the right of the State to dictate in matters of religion, (which the writer is the last person in the world who would attempt to advocate,) because the payment of tithe is not required by the State as evidence of assent to the doctrines or discipline of the Church, nor is any such meaning attached to it. I am in no other dilemma with regard to tithes, than I am with regard to levies of any other description, the purpose of which I may think morally or politically unjustifiable. The State, provided I pay my taxes, leaves me in the undoubted possession of any private opinion I may think fit to entertain. It never attempts to tell me that I have pledged my individual assent to the cause, by contributing my quota towards its requisitions. The writer is happy to find that his view of the subject is countenanced by a man of considerable erudition, whose name is, he understands, still held by Protestant Dissenters in much veneration. 'Tithes (says he), 'when first established among Christian states, were thought a very 'great hardship, as is evident from the manner in which they were 'introduced,—from the severe laws which anciently enjoined their 'payment,—and from the pious frauds madē use of both here, and 'on the continent, in order to prevail with the people to consider 'them as a Christian duty, as well as an injunction of the State. But 'they cannot well be looked on now as an oppression; length of time 'has taken away the causes of reasonable complaint, some circum- 'stances excepted which affect the landholders only, and which are 'not at all of a religious nature. There is not a family in the king- 'dom which has any legal and just right to more than nine parts of 'those estates that pay tithes. Not more than nine parts are ever 'purchased: and no dissenter, I suppose, will attempt to prove that 'the lands which he now possesses have been in his family ever since 'the days of Alfred or his son Edward. To refuse tithes would be 'to usurp a property which is not our own, and to which we can have 'no just claim, and would be equally inconsistent with our common 'notions of right and wrong, and with the acknowledged principles 'of every civil government.' The Rev. John Fell's *Fourth Letter to the Rev. Mr. Pickard on Genuine Protestantism*, 1775, p. 18.

Art. V. *Poems.* By John Keats. f. cap 8vo. pp. 121. Ollier. London. 1817.

**T**HREE is perhaps no description of publication that comes before us, in which there is for the most part discovered less of what is emphatically denominated *thought*, than in a volume of miscellaneous poems. We do not speak of works which obviously bear the traits of incapacity in the Author. Productions of this kind abound in more than one department of literature; yet in some of those which rank at the very lowest degree of mediocrity, there is occasionally displayed a struggling effort of mind to do its best, which gives an interest and a character to what possesses no claims to originality of genius, or to intrinsic value. But poetry is that one class of written compositions, in which the business of expression seems often so completely to engross the Author's attention, as to suspend altogether that exercise of the rational faculties which we term *thinking*; as if in the same limited sense as that in which we speak of the arts of music and painting, poetry also might be termed an art; and in that case indeed the easiest of arts, as requiring less previous training of faculty, and no happy peculiarity either in the conformation of the organs, or in the acquired delicacy of the perceptions. So accustomed however are we to find poetry thus characterized, as consisting in the mysteries of versification and expression, so learnedly treated of in all the "Arts of Poetry" extant, from Horace down to Mr. Bysshe, that it is not surprising that the generality of those who sit down to write verses, should aim at no higher intellectual exertion, than the melodious arrangement of 'the cross readings of memory.' Poetry is an art, and it is an elegant art: and so is the writing of prose, properly speaking, an art likewise; and they are no otherwise distinguishable from each other, than as being different styles of composition suited to different modes of thought. Poetry is the more ornate, but not, perhaps, in its simpler forms, the more artificial style of the two: the purpose, however, to which it is directed, requires a more minute elaboration of expression, than prose. But what should we think of a person's professedly sitting down to write prose, or to read prose composition, without reference to any subject, or to the quality of the thoughts, without any definite object but the amusement afforded by the euphonous collocation of sentences? As a school exercise, the employment, no doubt, would be beneficial; but were the writer to proceed still further, and publish his prose, not for any important or interesting sentiment conveyed in his work, but as presenting polished specimens of the beautiful art of prose-writing, it would certainly be placed to the account of mental aberration.

On what ground, then, does the notion rest, that poetry is a

something so sublime, or that so inherent a charm resides in words and syllables arranged in the form of verse, that the value of the composition is in any degree independent of the meaning which links together the sentences ? We admit that rhythm and cadence, and rhymed couplets, have a pleasurable effect upon the ear, and more than this, that words have in themselves a power of awakening trains of association, when the ideas which they convey are very indistinct, and do not constitute or account for the whole impression. It may be added, that the perception of skill or successful art, is also attended with pleasurable emotions ; and this circumstance forms, in addition to what we have already mentioned, a powerful ingredient in the whole combination of effect produced by genuine poetry : but that the mere art of setting words to the music of measure, should come to be regarded as the chief business of poetry, and the ultimate object of the writer, is so whimsical a prejudice, that after a brief exposition of the fact, it may be worth while to inquire a little into its cause.

As to the fact, it would be travelling too far out of the record, to make this notice of a small volume of poems, a pretence for instituting an examination of all the popular poets of the day. Suffice it to refer to the distinct schools into which they and their imitators, as incurable mannerists, are divided, as some evidence that mode of expression has come to form too much the distinguishing characteristic of modern poetry. Upon an impartial estimate of the intellectual quality of some of those poems which rank the highest in the public favour, it will be found to be really of a very humble description. As works of genius, they may deservedly rank high, because there is as much scope for genius in the achievements of art as in the energies of thought ; but as productions of mind, in which respect their real value must after all be estimated, they lay the reader under small obligations. Wordsworth is by far the deepest thinker of our modern poets, yet he has been sometimes misled by a false theory, to adopt a puerile style of composition ; and it is remarkable, that the palpable failure should be charged on his diction, which is attributable rather to the character of the thoughts themselves ; they were not adapted to any form of poetical expression, inasmuch as they are not worth being expressed at all. Scott, of all our leading poets, though the most exquisite artist, occupies the lowest rank in respect to the intellectual quality of his productions. Scarcely an observation or a sentiment escapes him, in the whole compass of his poetry, that even the beauty of expression can render striking or worth being treasured up by the reader for after reference. The only passages recurred to with interest, or cited with effect, are those admirable specimens of scenic painting in which he succeeds

beyond almost every poet, in making one see and hear whatever he describes. But when we descend from such writers as confessedly occupy the first rank, to the ~~rank~~ of their imitators, respectable as many of them are, and far above mediocrity considered as artists, the characters of sterling thought, of intellect in action, become very faint and rare. It is evident that, in their estimation, to write poetry is an achievement which costs no laborious exercise of faculty; is an innocent recreation rather, to which the consideration of any moral purpose would be altogether foreign.

Now, on turning from the polished versification of the elegant *artists* of the present day, to the rugged numbers of our early poets, the most obvious feature in the refreshing contrast is, the life and the vividness of thought diffused over their poetry. We term this originality, and ascribe the effect either to their pre-eminent genius, or to the early age in which they flourished, which forced upon them the toil of invention. But originality forms by no means a test of intellectual pre-eminence; and we have proof sufficient, that originality does not necessarily depend on priority of time. Provided the person be capable of the requisite effort of abstraction, nothing more is necessary in order to his attaining a certain degree of originality, than that his thoughts should bear the stamp of individuality, which is impressed by self-reflective study. In the earlier stages of the arts, we behold mind acting from itself, through the medium of outward forms, consulting its own purpose as the rule of its working, and referring to nature as its only model. But when the same arts have reached the period of more refined cultivation, they cease to be considered as means through which to convey to other minds the energies of thought and feeling: the productions of art become themselves the ultimate objects of imitation, and the mind is acted upon by them instead of acting through them from itself. Mind cannot be imitated; art can be: and when imitative skill has brought an art the nearest to perfection, it is then that its cultivation is the least allied to mind: its original purpose, as a mode of expression, becomes wholly lost in the artificial object,—the display of skill.

We consider poetry as being in the present day in this very predicament; as being reduced by the increased facilities of imitation, to an elegant art, and as having suffered a forcible divorce from thought. Some of our young poets have been making violent efforts to attain originality, and in order to accomplish this, they have been seeking with some success for new models of imitation in the earlier poets, presenting to us as the result, something of the quaintness, as well as the freedom and boldness of expression characteristic of those writers, in the form and with the

effect of novelties. But after all, this specious sort of originality lies wholly in the turn of expression ; it is only the last effort of the cleverness of skill to turn eccentric, when the perfection of correctness is no longer new. We know of no path to legitimate originality, but one, and that is, by restoring poetry to its true dignity as a vehicle for noble thoughts and generous feelings, instead of rendering meaning the mere accident of verse. Let the comparative insignificance of art be duly appreciated, and let the purpose and the meaning be considered as giving the expression all its value ; and then, so long as men think and feel for themselves, we shall have poets truly and simply original.

We have no hesitation in pronouncing the Author of these Poems, to be capable of writing good poetry, for he has the requisite fancy and skill which constitute the talent. We cannot, however, accept this volume as any thing more than an immature promise of possible excellence. There is, indeed, little in it that is positively good, as to the quality of either the thoughts or the expressions. Unless Mr. Keats has designedly kept back the best part of his mind, we must take the narrow range of ideas and feelings in these Poems, as an indication of his not having yet entered in earnest on the business of intellectual acquirement, or attained the full development of his moral faculties. To this account we are disposed to place the deficiencies in point of sentiment sometimes bordering upon childishness, and the nebulous character of the meaning in many passages which occur in the present volume. Mr. Keats dedicates his volume to Mr. Leigh Hunt, in a sonnet which, as possibly originating in the warmth of gratitude, may be pardoned its extravagance ; and he has obviously been seduced by the same partiality, to take him as his model in the subsequent poem, to which is affixed a motto from the "Story of Rimini." To Mr. Hunt's poetical genius we have repeatedly borne testimony, but the affectation which vitiates his style must needs be aggravated to a ridiculous excess in the copyist. Mr. Hunt is sometimes a successful imitator of the manner of our elder poets, but this imitation will not do at second hand, for ceasing then to remind us of those originals, it becomes simply unpleasing.

Our first specimen of Mr. Keats's powers, shall be taken from the opening of the poem alluded to.

I stood tip-toe upon a little hill,  
The air was cooling and so very still,  
That the sweet buds which with a modest pride  
Pull droopingly, in slanting curve aside,  
Their scantily leaved, and finely tapering stems,  
Had not yet lost those starry diadems  
Caught from the early sobbing of the morn.  
The clouds were pure and white as flocks new shorn,

And fresh from the clear brook ; sweetly they slept  
 On the blue fields of heaven, and then there crept  
 A little noiseless noise among the leaves,  
 Born of the very sigh that silence heaves :  
 For not the faintest motion could be seen  
 Of all the shades that slanted o'er the green.  
 There was wide wand'ring for the greediest eye,  
 To peer about upon variety ;  
 Far round the horizon's crystal air to skim,  
 And trace the dwindled edgings of its brim ;  
 To picture out the quaint, and curious bending  
 Of a fresh woodland alley, never ending :  
 Or by the bowery clefts, and leafy shelves,  
 Guess where the jaunty streams refresh themselves ;  
 I gazed awhile, and felt as light, and free  
 As though the fanning wings of Mercury  
 Had played upon my heels : I was light-hearted,  
 And many pleasures to my vision started ;  
 So I straight-way began to pluck a posy,  
 Of luxuries bright, milky, soft, and rosy.  
 A bush of May flowers with the bees about them ;  
 Ah, sure no tasteful nook would be without them ;  
 And let a lush laburnum oversweep them,  
 And let long grass grow round the roots to keep them.  
 Moist, cool, and green ; and shade the violets  
 That they may bind the moss in leafy nets.  
 A filbert hedge with wild briar overtwin'd  
 And clumps of wood-bine taking the soft wind  
 Upon their summer thrones ; there too should be  
 The frequent chequer of a youngling tree,  
 That with a score of light green brethren shoots  
 From the quaint mossiness of aged roots :  
 Round which is heard a spring-head of clear waters  
 Babbling so wildly of its lovely daughters  
 The spreading bluebells : it may haply mourn  
 That such fair clusters should be rudely torn  
 From their fresh beds, and scattered thoughtlessly  
 By infant hands, left on the path to die.  
 Open afresh your round of starry folds,  
 Ye ardent marigolds !  
 Dry up the moisture from your golden lids,  
 For great Apollo bids  
 That in these days your praises should be sung  
 On many harps, which he has lately strung ;  
 And when again your dewiness he kisses,  
 Tell him, I have you in my world of blisses ;  
 So haply when I rove in some far vale.  
 His mighty voice may come upon the gale.  
 Here are sweet-peas, on tiptoe for a flight  
 With wings of gentle flush o'er delicate white,

And taper fingers catching at all things,  
To bind them all about with tiny rings.'

There is certainly considerable taste and sprightliness in some parts of this description, and the whole poem has a sort of summer's day glow diffused over it, but it shuts up in mist and obscurity.

After a 'specimen of an induction to a poem,' we have next a fragment, entitled Calidore, which, in the same indistinct and dreamy style, describes the romantic adventure of a Sir Somebody, who is introduced ' paddling o'er a lake,' edged with easy slopes and 'swelling leafiness,' and who comes to a castle gloomy and grand, with halls and corridor, where he finds 'sweet-lipped ladies,' and so forth ; and all this is told with an air of mystery that holds out continually to the reader the promise of something interesting just about to be told, when, on turning the leaf, the Will o' the Wisp vanishes, and leaves him in darkness. However ingenious such a trick of skill may be, when the writer is too indolent, or feels incompétent to pursue his story, the production cannot claim to be read a second time ; and it may therefore be questioned, without captiousness, whether it was worth printing for the sake of a few good lines which ambitiously aspired to overleap the portfolio.

The 'epistles' are much in the same style, *all about* poetry, and seem to be the first efflorescence of the unpruned fancy, which must pass away before any thing like genuine excellence can be produced. The sonnets are perhaps the best things in the volume. We subjoin one addressed 'To my brother George.'

• Many the wonders I this day have seen :  
The sun, when first he kist away the tears  
That fill'd the eyes of morn ;—the laurel'd peers,  
Who from the feathery gold of evening lean ;—  
The ocean with its vastness, its blue green,  
Its ships, its rocks, its caves, its hopes, its fears,  
Its voice mysterious, which whoso hears  
Must think on what will be, and what has been.  
E'en now, dear George, while this for you I write,  
Cynthia is from her silken curtains peeping  
So scantily, that it seems her bridal night,  
And she her half-discover'd revels keeping.  
But what without the social thought of thee,  
Would be the wonders of the sky and sea ?'

The 'strange assay' entitled Sleep and Poetry, if its forming the closing poem indicates that it is to be taken as the result of the Author's latest efforts, would seem to shew that he is indeed far gone, beyond the reach of the efficacy either of praise or censure, in affectation and absurdity. We must indulge the reader with a specimen.

‘ Will not some say that I presumptuously  
 Have spoken? that from hastening disgrace  
 ‘ Twere better far to hide my foolish face?  
 That whining boyhood should with reverence bow  
 Ere the dread thunderbolt could reach? *How!*  
 If I do hide myself, it sure shall be  
 In the very fane, the light of Poesy:  
 If I do fall, at least I will be laid  
 Beneath the silence of some poplar shade;  
 And over me the grass shall be smooth shaven;  
 And there shall be a kind memorial graven.  
 But off Despondence! miserable bane!  
 They should not know thee, who athirst to gain  
 A noble end, are thirsty every hour.  
 What though I am not wealthy in the dower  
 Of spanning wisdom; though I do not know  
 The shiftings of the mighty winds that blow  
 Hither and thither all the changing thoughts  
 Of man: though no great minist’ring reason sorts  
 Out the dark mysteries of human souls  
 To clear conceiving; yet there ever rolls  
 A vast idea before me, and I glean  
 Therefrom my liberty; thence too I’ve seen  
 The end and aim of Poetry.’

We must be allowed, however, to express a doubt whether its nature has been as clearly perceived by the Author, or he surely would never have been able to impose even upon himself as poetry the precious nonsense which he has here decked out in rhyme. Mr. Keats speaks of

‘ The silence when some rhymes are coming out,  
 And when they’re come, *the very pleasant rout*;

and to the dangerous fascination of this employment we must attribute this half-awake rhapsody. Our Author is a very facetious rhymester. We have *Wallace* and *solace*, *tenderness* and *slenderness*, *burrs* and *sepulchres*, *favours* and *behaviours*, *livers* and *rivers*;—and again,

‘ *Where we may soft humanity put on,*  
 And sit and rhyme, and think on *Chatterton*.’

Mr. Keats has satirized certain *pseudo* poets, who,

‘ With a puling infant’s force,  
 Sway’d about upon a rocking horse,  
 And thought it Pegasus.’

Satire is a two-edged weapon: the lines brought irresistibly to our imagination the Author of these poems in the very attitude he describes. Seriously, however, we regret that a young man of vivid imagination and fine talents, should have

fallen into so bad hands, as to have been flattered into the resolution to publish verses, of which a few years hence he will be glad to escape from the remembrance. The lash of a critic is the thing the least to be dreaded, as the penalty of premature publication. To have committed one's self in the character of a versifier, is often a formidable obstacle to be surmounted in after-life, when other aims require that we should obtain credit for different, and what a vulgar prejudice deems opposite qualifications. No species of authorship is attended by equal inconvenience in this respect. When a man has established his character in any useful sphere of exertion, the fame of the poet may be safely sought as a finish to his reputation. When he has shewn that he can do something else besides writing poetry, then, and not till then, may he safely trust the public with his secret. But the sound of a violin from a barrister's chamber, is not a more fatal augury than the poet's lyre strummed by a youth whose odes are as yet all addressed to Hope and Fortune.

But perhaps the chief danger respects the individual character, a danger which equally attends the alternative of success or failure. Should a young man of fine genius, but of half-furnished mind, succeed in conciliating applause by his first productions, it is a fearful chance that his energies are not dwarfed by the intoxication of vanity, or that he does not give himself up to the indolent day-dream of some splendid achievement never to be realized. Poetical fame, when conceded to early productions, is, if deserved, seldom the fruit of that patient self-cultivation and pains-taking, which in every department of worthy exertion are the only means of excellence; and it is but the natural consequence of this easy acquisition of gratification, that it induces a distaste for severer mental labour. Should, however, this fatal success be denied, the tetchy aspirant after fame is sometimes driven to seek compensation to his mortified vanity, in the plaudits of some worthless coterie, whose friendship consists in mutual flattery, or in community in crime, or, it may be, to vent his rancour in the satire of envy, or in the malignity of *patriotism*.

Exceptions, brilliant exceptions, are to be found in the annals of literature, and these make the critic's task one of peculiar delicacy. The case has occurred, when a phlegmatic Reviewer, in a fit of morning spleen, or of after-dinner dulness, has had it in his power to dash to the ground, by his pen, the innocent hopes of a youth struggling for honourable distinction amid all the disadvantages of poverty, or to break the bruised reed of a tender and melancholy spirit; but such an opportunity of doing

mischief must of necessity be happily rare. Instances have also been, in which the performances of maturer life have fully redeemed the splendid pledge afforded by the young Author, in his first crude and unequal efforts, with which he has had to thank the stern critic that he did not rest self-satisfied. Upon the latter kind of exceptions, we would wish to fix Mr. Keats's attention, feeling perfectly confident, as we do, that the patronage of the friend he is content to please, places him wholly out of the danger of adding to the number of those who are lost to the public for want of the smile of praise.

Mr. Keats has, however, a claim to leave upon our readers the full impression of his poetry; and we shall therefore give insertion to another of his sonnets, which we have selected as simple and pleasing.

‘ Happy is England ! I could be content  
To see no other verdure than its own ;  
To feel no other breezes than are blown  
Through its tall woods with high romances blent :  
Yet I do sometimes feel a languishment  
For skies Italian, and an inward groan  
To sit upon an Alp as on a throne,  
And half forget what world or worldling meant.  
Happy is England, sweet her artless daughters ;  
Enough their simple loveliness for me,  
Enough their whitest arms in silence clinging :  
Yet do I often warmly burn to see  
Beauties of deeper glance, and hear their singing,  
And float with them about the summer waters.’

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Art. VI. *The Bible Class Book*; or Scripture Readings for every Day in the Year: being Three Hundred and Sixty Five Lessons, selected from the most instructive and improving parts of the Sacred Scriptures. 12mo. pp. 544. Price 6s. bound. Lackington and Co. 1817.

THE Compiler of this selection states in his Preface, that the ‘ regular reading of the Bible in our schools and seminaries of learning,’ which was once in universal practice, has grown into disuse; and the principal reason is, as he imagines, ‘ the want of a *practical* selection keeping pace with the improved plans on which modern school books have been compiled, and being, like the present, adapted universally to Christian youth, of all classes and denominations.’ He has affixed to the title-page a quotation, purporting to be from Dr. Watts, and expressing the wish that ‘ select portions of Scripture were chosen out, and printed by themselves, for children, that their time might not be spent in such parts of the Bible as are of very little use to them.’

Notwithstanding this high authority, and the apparent good intention of the Compiler, the objections to the adoption of such a substitute for the sacred Scriptures in schools, appear to counterbalance, and more than counterbalance the advantages.

In the first place, this professed adaptation of the Bible, upon the principle of selection, to Christian youth of all classes and denominations, seems to imply that there are some denominations of Christians to whom certain parts of the Holy Scriptures are not adapted, or at least not acceptable; and that in order to obtain for a selection the character of universal adaptation, those parts must of course be sacrificed. What those objectionable parts of Divine truth are, we can gather only from its being termed a *practical* selection, which is to obtain that favour in our schools and seminaries of learning which is denied to the entire Scriptures. It is then on account of the doctrines of the Bible that, as it should seem, the reading of it has sunk into disuse. Really, if this be the fact, we cannot consider the attempt to introduce an expurgated Bible into general use, in any other light than as a compromise unjustifiable in its principle, and fraught with infinite mischief.

But, in the second place, the plan is extremely dangerous as a precedent. Allowing that in the present selection there is no designed omission of any of those passages which are strongly marked by the peculiarities of the Christian system,—what security have we against an inundation of Bible Class Books from other anonymous compilers, in which the plan of universal adaptation shall be carried to the utmost perfection that could be desired by that foe to all creeds, Mr. Robert Owen himself.

In the next place, with all due deference to Dr. Watts, the printing of select portions of Scripture by themselves, any further than as the separate distribution of the New Testament may be so considered, strikes us as perfectly unnecessary even for the object he mentions. It is ridiculous to talk of children losing their time in reading the parts of Scripture which are of little use to them; since we apprehend there is no school or seminary of learning, in which children are left to make their election as to what parts they shall read. In most cases, the New Testament alone is put into their hands in the first instance; and when the whole Bible is given them, it remains to be determined by the discretion of the master, or teacher, what parts they shall read in class. If the master be really incompetent to direct their reading, he is obviously unworthy, to the last degree, of the confidence that is reposed in him; and the choice of class books, committed, as it must be, to such a person, would be a circumstance exceedingly to be deprecated.

And further, the principle of selection seems to us to be founded on a very defective view of the character of the sacred volume, which rests its claims to universal acceptance, not simply, or perhaps it might be said, not at all, upon the moral excellence or supposed usefulness of its contents; for of this the beings to whom these contents are addressed, cannot assume to be *a priori* competent judges, but upon the Divine authority from which it proceeds; an authority extending to every precept, and every declaration, and every statement which it contains. Now, reduce this Bible to a mere class book, and though the portions selected be literally the same as they stand in the sacred records, still it is no longer the Bible; that Bible, which, *as a whole*, claims to be distinguished from every other book, as not only entitled to peculiar reverence, but as demanding an undiscriminating acceptance; which ought not, therefore, to be familiarized, even to a school boy, in any form that tends to obscure its authoritative character, or to weaken its hold upon his mind.

Lastly: we must deprecate the plan of selection, because we deny that any objection lies to reading the Bible regularly 'through and through'; and because we deny, that even with regard to children, any individual has a right, by other means than directing their perusal, to exclude a part of the word of God from universal inspection and perusal. On this account,—to adopt the language of an eloquent writer, in reference to the similar restrictions which, on a more extended scale, the enemies of the free circulation of the Scriptures have advocated, on the same plea of adaptation to popular use,—we feel insuperable objections to the jealous policy of the system; 'nor are we disposed to ascribe to any description of men whatever, that control over Divine communications, which such a measure implies. We are persuaded that no man possesses a right to curtail the gifts of God, or to deal out, with a sparing hand, what was intended for universal patrimony. If the manner in which Revelation was imparted is such as makes it manifest that it was originally designed for the benefit of all, we are at a loss to conceive how any man can have a right, by his interference, to render it inaccessible. From the word of God there can be no appeal; it must decide its own character, and determine its own pretensions. Thus much we must be allowed to assume, that if it was originally given to mankind indiscriminately, no power upon earth is entitled to restrict it; because, on the supposition which we are now making, since every man's original right in it was equal, that right can be cancelled by no authority but that which bestowed it. Every attempt to alter it, is an act of extreme presumption and

'impiety: it is to assume a superiority over Revelation itself.'

But the introduction of a Bible Class Book, is not, it may be said, intended to preclude or to interfere with the private reading of the sacred Scriptures even in schools. We reply, that it would at any rate *tend* to supersede the Bible itself, inasmuch as it would take away one constantly recurring occasion for the using of it. We cannot persuade ourselves that the disuse of the Scriptures is so lamentably general as the Compiler of the present selection insinuates. There are certainly days on which the reading of the Bible is still kept up in those seminaries in which the practice of constant reading may have lost ground. We should apprehend that a Bible Class Book would have just the effect of banishing the Bible itself altogether. This the Prayer Book in former times succeeded in accomplishing to a great extent, when it enjoyed an undisturbed preference of the sacred volume; and the advocates of the Prayer Book seem, from their dread of the consequences of circulating the Bible among the poorer classes, to attribute to the latter a sort of power of *retaliation*. Whatever makes the Bible, for any practical purposes, less necessary to be had, and kept at hand, and recurred to, most assuredly tends to interfere with its circulation. It has always been deemed a circumstance of the most important and beneficial nature, that children were at least at school accustomed to read, and therefore necessarily put in possession of the Bible. But give them a Bible Class Book at school, and the Book of Common Prayer at church, and the Bible itself will soon be considered by the economical parent, as a needless expense, and by the boy himself perhaps as a useless incumbrance. It should be mentioned that the price of this Class Book is the same as the Nonpareil Bible.

We wish it to be understood, that our objections do not relate to the execution of the present work: that does not appear to us, on a superficial inspection, to be in itself reprehensible. We only regret that the pains bestowed on the compilation, have been, at least in our opinion, completely thrown away.

\* See "Speech delivered at the Seventh Anniversary of the Auxiliary Bible Society at Leicester, July 15, 1817. By the Rev. Robert Hall, A. M." 8vo. London, 4d.



Art. VII.—*A Catechetical Treatise on the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian Sabbath; with a View to enforce from Scripture Authority, the more careful Observance of the Lord's Day.* By Thomas Wemyss, Author of Biblical Gleanings, &c. 24mo. pp. 106. Price 1s. 6d. Edinburgh, Robertson; Ogle and Co. London, 1816.

WE cordially approve of the design of this little publication. At a time that the religious observance of the Lord's Day is openly violated by the highest authorities in the land, and the infection of evil example has reached every class in society, it is of peculiar importance that the Christian world should be fortified by every legitimate argument in those principles upon which the obligation and importance of a sabbath rest. Even those persons to whom Mr. Wemyss alludes, as entertaining doubts 'whether the observance of the first day of the week be obligatory on them, or can be proved to be so from Scripture,' would we imagine, very gladly be relieved from those doubts by having the point cleared up on sufficient evidence. It is not, as we presume, from any wish to get rid of its observance, which upon moral grounds they may deem highly expedient and beneficial, that they feel this dissatisfaction with the arguments usually adduced in support of its authority, but from a jealousy of any other evidence in matters of religion than clear Scriptural precept, and from a fear of conceding the Romish principle of traditional authority in a point of faith.

Mr. Wemyss has prefixed to his Treatise a 'List of Scripture passages, which have more or less reference to a day of rest,' in which the words Sabbath, Sabbath Day, Seventh Day, First day of the week, and Lord's Day, are severally noticed. This is very judicious. To the catechetical form of the Treatise some objection may be made, as it does not allow of that close argumentative style of reasoning which is the most satisfactory and effective to an inquiring mind; although for popular use it is not without advantage. As every answer is thus distinctly exposed to separate examination, being, as it were, cut off from the support of the collateral arguments, those which appear less conclusive, will by this means tend to weaken, more than they otherwise would do, the impression of the whole chapter. Convinced, as we are, of the intimate and necessary connexion between the religious observance of a seventh day, and the promotion both of personal piety and public morals, we shall rejoice to see the question placed in the clearest light, and treated more explicitly in all its relations. In the mean time, we do not hesitate to recommend the perusal of Mr. Wemyss's well-timed and useful compilation.

Art. VIII. *Sermons on the Leading Doctrines of the Gospel.* By George More. 2 vols. 12mo pp 360, 388. Hatchard, London. Oliphant and Co. Edinburgh. 1810 and 1815.

**A** CONSIDERABLE time has elapsed since the publication of these volumes, which appeared, as we find by the titles, at an interval of five years from each other. They were both accidentally overlooked by us at the time of publication; an omission which we regret, and are happy to take an opportunity now to rectify.

It has been a frequent subject of complaint with fastidious or affected readers, that published sermons are already by far too numerous, that the public is satiated with this species of writing, and that no room is left for more. To these positions we must demur. No doubt the number of sermons given to the world is considerable: so also is the number of books in almost every department of literature. Still the ever varying taste of the public has called for, and will continue to call for something new; new, if not in the ideas communicated, at least in the manner of conveying them. This holds no less true in divinity, than in many other branches of knowledge. It is readily admitted, that the great and essential truths of the Christian Revelation, have been, and ever must be, the same; but in the mode of presenting them to notice, investigating their foundation, elucidating their connexion, adapting them to the circumstances and situation of the hearers, and deducing the important and deeply interesting conclusions to which they lead, there is room, and much room for exertion, and an ample field for new efforts of thought and new exercises of judgement.

In *evangelical* discourses particularly, whether relating to doctrine, practice, or Christian experience, frequent and varied exhibitions of Divine truth are of much utility. Different minds are differently constituted; and what more feebly affects one, may make a deep impression on another: by giving line upon line, and precept upon precept, there is reason to hope, that by the Divine blessing, the most beneficial effects may be produced.

Under these impressions, we have never been disposed to echo the common and superficial censure directed against the publication of sermons. Sermons, like other writings, ought to be judged of by their intrinsic merit. If they are found to contain just views of Divine truth, Scriptural representations of the state and circumstances of man, a clear exhibition of the doctrines which alone make wise to salvation, and a full delineation of that holiness in heart, life, and conversation, which the Gospel enjoins, they can never be without their use. Even granting that in substance they may contain only what had

been taught before, still the very variety in the mode of teaching can hardly fail to procure attention. What passed unnoticed in old authors, may, in a new book be prized as it deserves; and we are inclined to believe that there are few publications indeed, emanating from a mind rightly impressed with evangelical principle, and acting from evangelical views, in which the reader may not find much to instruct, to animate, or to console him in his Christian course.

Entertaining such sentiments, we cannot but receive with satisfaction, the present work; a work designed to exhibit in a series of discourses, the leading doctrines of the Gospel, as contained in the sacred volume. The work is not professedly, nor is it completely, systematic; but the doctrines follow one another in a train sufficiently connected to give them the advantage of mutual illustration, and each discourse, while it contains a whole in itself, constitutes at the same time a material part of the entire disquisition to which it is meant to refer.

The Sermons are in all twenty-eight in number, in point of length considerably exceeding the common rate of modern discourses, though in the days of our fathers they would have been deemed of moderate extent. Each Sermon generally discusses a separate point of doctrine, so that the unnecessary repetition occasioned by the division of discourses on the same subject are avoided.

The first Discourse treats of the subject of 'Man's Original Uprightness,' the perfection of his understanding, will, and affections,—the federal relation in which he was placed to his Creator,—the full ability conferred on him for the discharge of all his duties, and the consummate happiness which, in his primeval estate was put within his reach. The second takes a view of the 'Disobedience of Man,'—the transgressions of Adam, by which "all men were made sinners," corrupted, it is justly remarked, in their nature, guilty before God, and therefore justly liable to condemnation, with all the awful effects of the Divine displeasure;—a state into which man has been brought by the breach of the original covenant on the part of the creature, this disobedience of the first man being brought ruin on the whole human race, in consequence of Adam being at once their natural root, and constituted their federal head or covenant representative.

From the view of the disobedience of man, Mr. More passes in the third discourse, to the important subject of the 'Recovery of Man by the Obedience of Christ; an obedience by which, as the Scripture assures us, "many were made righteous." To accomplish the great end of the salvation of man, it was necessary that a suitable method of salvation should be devised. With this view, 'a covenant transaction was entered into betwixt

‘Jehovah the Father on the one part, and our Lord Jesus Christ on the other, the former as sustaining the dignity of the God-head, the latter as representing his spiritual seed.’ The existence of such a covenant transaction, Mr. More establishes from Scripture, and then remarks, that in it Jesus Christ engaged to perform certain stipulations, for vindicating the honour of the Divine law, and securing the rights of Divine holiness, justice, and faithfulness; that these engagements were fulfilled by the obedience of Christ, an obedience implying holiness of nature, righteousness of life, and satisfaction for sin; an obedience voluntary on the part of our Lord, yet necessary in the economy of redemption, perfect and Divine, bringing glory to God, and the highest good to man; an obedience by which many are made righteous,—partakers both of imputed and inherent righteousness, and accepted as righteous before God. This obedience of Christ, it is remarked, ‘was performed, not on his own account, but on account of others, as a federal head, and closely connected with the making of many righteous.’

In the fourth Sermon, ‘Death, and the source of Death in Adam’s Disobedience, are considered.’ The fifth is particularly directed to ‘the Delivery of Believers in their being made alive through Christ,—brought to the comfortable enjoyment of natural life, made partakers of spiritual life, and possessed of an indefeasible title to life eternal.

In the subsequent discourses contained in the first volume, Mr. More enters into more particular views of some of the principal points of Scripture doctrine connected with the recovery and redemption of man. The subjects are: Imputed Sin and Imputed Righteousness—Christ’s Mediatory Office and Work—The Pre-eminence and Glory of Christ, as manifested in his nature and perfections, the offices which he executes in the scheme of redemption, his relations to his people, and the works which he performs—Election to eternal Life—The Call of the Gospel—Regeneration—Effectual Calling—Redemption—and Forgiveness of Sins.

In the Second Volume, published, as already remarked, at a considerable interval from the first, the subject is resumed, further illustrations of some important doctrines are given, and delineations both of practical truths in the Christian life and the privileges and hopes of believers as held forth in the Gospel, are exhibited. The volume commences with a discourse on—‘Preaching the unsearchable Riches of Christ;’ after which separate Sermons are appropriated to the following topics: Justification—Adoption—Indwelling Sin as the Christian’s burthen—Purity in heart—the Beatific Vision—the Christian’s triumphant state—Precious faith—the Character of genuine

**Believers—the Grace of Hope—Love to Jesus—Evangelical Repentance—New Obedience—the Final Perseverance of the Saints—Practice as the best criterion of Principle.**

Such are the important and interesting subjects discussed in these volumes. In all of them the Reader will find much solid and useful truth, evangelical doctrine perspicuously stated and illustrated in its various bearings, while practical exhortation is never lost sight of, and Christian experience is placed in a just and scriptural point of view. The style is perhaps not polished up to the pitch of modern refinement, nor does the Author attempt any of the splendid flashes of oratory which we now frequently meet with in the pulpit, and which may perhaps tend more to bewilder than instruct; but the language is throughout perspicuous; the reasoning just, the illustrations scriptural, and the whole well calculated for practical usefulness.

Upon each of the subjects discussed we find much that we could quote with pleasure. The following, taken without any particular aim at selection, may serve to convey to our readers some idea of the style and manner of the work.

Speaking of the disobedience of the first man, Mr. More remarks,

‘ The expression *made sinners* points out that the whole of mankind are universally corrupted in their nature. The fact is undoubted.—It is only necessary to recollect the import of the character, sinners. This always conveys two leading ideas, the corruption of the nature and conduct, with that guilt and condemnation which in consequence is incurred. The conduct of mankind could not be so universally depraved, unless it had proceeded from a corrupted nature; a good tree must bear good fruit, a pure fountain must send forth pure streams; it is only an evil tree that produces bad fruit, and an impure fountain that sends forth polluted streams. Man in his great original was a noble vine, wholly of a right seed; the fruit proceeding thence would have been corresponding, had he continued in this condition. But alas! a truly humbling reverse has taken place; that which was originally a noble tree, in the language of scripture, became a strange vine; we have become degenerate plants, or, as it is expressed by the Apostle, sinners, that is, persons depraved in their natures, and being depraved in their natures, they must be so also in their conduct.’ Vol. I. pp. 24, 25.

In the Sermon, on the ‘ Pre-eminence of Christ,’ it is remarked :

‘ If we consider Jesus in his glorious person, his pre-eminence will unquestionably appear, Jesus is not only truly God, and truly man, but also he is the *God man* in one divine person; and certainly his being such, forms a distinction of the highest eminence and importance, a distinction in which he stands altogether unparalleled.

That he is thus distinguished is incontrovertible. Hence, immediately before his incarnation it was declared, "Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel," which being interpreted is God with us. God in our nature, God and man in one divine person.

• This, indeed, as the Apostle intimates, is a great mystery, *God made manifest in the flesh.* That the divine nature should stoop so low as to have a personal subsistence with the human, while by thus stooping it does not sustain the smallest diminution in its essential glory; that the human nature should be dignified so high, as to be taken into a personal subsistence with the divine, and yet at the same time preserved in that sphere, and in that capacity which is natural and essential to it; that both these natures should by an hypostatical union constitute the wonderful person of our Redeemer; and that these natures should notwithstanding remain so distinct as that they are not by this union in the smallest degree blended together, is indeed most amazing; but however astonishing it may appear, it is not more amazing than it is necessary, necessary to render Jesus a suitable, a sufficient mediator betwixt God and man.' Vol. I. pp. 211, 212.

Upon the subject of Indwelling Sin as the Christian's burthen, from Rom. vii. 24, Mr. More remarks,

' The Apostle was deeply distressed on account of prevailing iniquity. This he explicitly expresses in terms truly affecting, "Wretched man that I am." He does not simply point out his condition as to what he was, but he also at the same time in effect intimates his feeling in terms the most striking. His conduct, as reviewed by him, in place of yielding pleasure, produced a distress of mind so enlarged and so exquisite, that under his pressure he groaned out a bitter complaint against himself. So far from its being agreeable to, or approved of by him, he, as highly dissatisfied, with abhorrence recoiled from and mournfully regretted it. Thus in like manner will it be with every Christian when, in similar circumstances, and when suitably exercised in reference to them. He will neither have pleasure in this his condition, nor in what has produced it; but will be highly dissatisfied with, and will feelingly lament over both. This, you will observe, is no small attainment. It is peculiarly characteristic of the genuine Christian. For as it is only persons of this description who can be feelingly alive to such a condition, so it is peculiar to them to be dissatisfied with themselves, and distressed on account of it. You will here recollect, that the whole is owing to the agency of the Holy Spirit in them. It is specially through his gracious influences and powerful operations that the understanding of the Christian is spiritually enlightened, that his feelings and sensibility, in reference to his conduct, are awakened, and his exercise to this extent produced. Though misery as such, when arising from sin, is what no one can take pleasure in, yet those only are correctly acquainted with its bitter nature, or are suitably affected on account of it, whose hearts the Lord hath touched. Thus though the condition of the whole of Peter's audience was precisely the same, yet all

were not correctly acquainted with it, or suitably affected on account of it. It was peculiar only to some that they were pricked in their hearts, through the instrumentality of Peter's sermon: accompanied with the demonstration of the Holy Ghost and with power.' Vol. II. pp. 128, 129.

In the Sermon on Purity of Heart, the principles of genuine holiness operating in the heart, life, and conversation, are clearly illustrated. Among many other just remarks, we find the following:

'Purity of heart operates in an unfeigned hatred of sin, and in a genuine love to holiness. As the heart, when it is impure, has a fond, a violent attachment to sin, and is a decided enemy to holiness, so, when purified, it is distinguished by dispositions quite the reverse. Gospel purity exhibits itself by an unfeigned hatred of sin,—a hatred of sin as sin, being in its nature an evil in direct contrariety to the holiness and to the law of God; being that evil, that bitter, that abominable thing which God hates. In like manner, that love to holiness by which this purity operates, is not only decisively genuine, but it is also a love to holiness for itself, and specially to that perfection of its beauty, which is so illustriously displayed in God himself, in his law, in all his words, and in all his works. It is, further, in some measure, an unreserved, uniform, and perfect love. It is one word is such a love for holiness, as has infallibly connected with it great peace and the most refined pleasure. It is thus that Gospel purity operates.' Vol. II. pp. 151, 152.

The Sermon, in the second volume, on 'Precious Faith,' is distinguished by a number of acute remarks on the nature of faith in general, the peculiar character of saving faith, and the excellence of that faith, as at once an appointed means and a capital article of salvation. The following thoughts are important.

'The peculiarity of precious faith especially consists in a spiritual application and appropriation to the person's self, of general and particular precious promises and gracious declarations, contained in the sacred Volume. But this improvement is incompetent to the natural or moral powers of any individual, and must in every instance be the gift and the work of the Holy Spirit in all who in truth attain to it.' Vol. II. p. 219.

The extracts we have already given, will enable our readers to appreciate the doctrines and sentiments, as well as the mode of exhibiting them, adopted by the Author of the present Work. The Sermons we have no hesitation in recommending as containing a valuable exposition of evangelical doctrine, and a just delineation of Christian practice.

Art. VIII. *Sketches of Human Nature*; or Hints chiefly relating to the Duties and Difficulties that occur in the Intercourse of Christians with one another, and with the World. By William Innes, Minister of the Gospel. Second Edition, considerably enlarged. Edinburgh; Oliphant, Waugh and Innes. London; Seeley; Hatchard; and Hamilton. 12mo. pp. 275. Price 4s 6d.

**A**MONG the various reasons assigned as objections against adopting the principles of Dissent, one of the most common, and which, in the estimation of many, has great weight, is stated to be the trials and vexations which at times occur in Dissenting churches. It is asserted, that the constitution of these societies naturally genders strife and debate; that they are subject to incessant interference and annoyance; that it is not possible for an individual to enjoy peace in them; that they are constantly exposed to bickerings and divisions; that having no fixed standard of belief, they are perpetually vacillating between truth and error; that these things corrupt the life of Godliness, retard the progress of the Christian, lead many to wander in the deserts of unprofitable speculation, and drive others to the wilds of infidelity.

It is to little purpose to allege in answer to all this, that the picture is vastly overcharged; that these evils, admitting them to exist, are not the genuine effects of the radical principles of these churches, but of human depravity abusing the liberty of the Gospel; that their constitution may be Divine, while the human management of it may occasionally lead to evil; that trials of a similar description occurred in the primitive churches under the eye of the Apostles themselves; that no rational man would forego the advantages of a free government with all its attending burdens and ebullitions, for the imagined unity, and decision, and quiet of a despotic monarchy. These and various other replies are deemed quite unsatisfactory when opposed to the secular independence and influence conferred by an establishment.

Without meaning to intimate that nothing but evil attaches to the system of ecclesiastical incorporations, or that the motley aggregates of its adherents are to be indiscriminately confounded in one class of nominal Christians, we contend that the peace and tranquillity enjoyed, or supposed to be enjoyed, in connexion with it, are not strictly Christian in their nature, but the result of something very different from the operation of Gospel principles. In by far the greater number of its professed members, (is it possible to be ignorant of the melancholy fact, or to deny it?) this peace is the combined effect of ignorance, indifference, and superstition. In regard to their characters as sinners they are awfully unconcerned. To all the enjoy-

ment, and all the glory, and all the danger of Christian privileges, they are deplorably indifferent. The hand of death is spread over them. Their consciences are lulled asleep by the language of a corrupted Gospel, or by the prostituted enjoyment of ordinances which belong exclusively to the children of God. By another class of this extended and multifarious community, peace is *kept*, not enjoyed, in consequence of the strong arm of the law being suspended over them *in terrorem*. Many are their antipathies, and grudgings, and envyings in private, at its enactments, and severities, and distributions; but as it is the 'king's chapel and the king's court,' nothing must be uttered publicly, but what kings and courtiers delight to hear. On the part of a small respectable class, peace is externally maintained, because complaint has long been unavailing, and reformation hopeless. Many, doubtless, are their sighs in private, many their secret lamentations, many the wounds of conscience for their submissions, and the evils into which their circumstances unavoidably lead them. But they reconcile themselves to their lot, because evil is to be found every where on earth. Notwithstanding this strange discordance of principle and feeling, all these parties unite in exclaiming—Behold our peace! The Church, the object of their idolatry, is undeniably a heterogeneous mass of gold and silver, of brass, and iron, and clay, which are indeed joined together, but which cannot amalgamate: and yet all the world is invited to fall down and worship it! But as we neither love its materials nor admire its form, as we are not over-awed by its huge bulk, nor charmed with the music that celebrates its praises, we must be excused from joining in its adoration.

We admit that it has its advantages. It is admirably adapted for this world. It reconciles as far as may be, the incompatible services of God and Mammon. It does away the offence of the Cross. It conceals the unsightliness of the kingdom of Christ. It makes the religion of Jesus, or that which is taken for it, acceptable to men of taste, and rank, and fashion; and by the perversion of doctrine which it supports, and the abuse of Divine institutions which it enforces and encourages, renders it the easiest thing possible for all manner of persons to enter into the kingdom of God.

But it has its disadvantages also. Some of these are implied in what we have now stated, and have often brought forward. The work on our table has suggested others. It is the production of an Author who knows from experience both sides of the question. He has tasted the honours and tranquillity of an Establishment, and experienced the trials and vexations of a Dissenting Church. The testimony of such a man is certainly deserving of attention. So far then from repenting

of his abandonment of the respectability, and usefulness, and emoluments of his former situation, and now appearing before the world to sing his palinode,—at the distance of nearly twenty years from his change of sentiment, after all that he now knows of the evils of the Dissenting Ministry, he is more than ever convinced of the propriety of the step he took, and remains fully satisfied with the exchange he has made.

Mr. Innes has been a diligent observer of men and things. His work discovers no small acquaintance with the workings of the heart, and the influence of principles and circumstances on the human character. It contains the fruits of his observation and experience in the work of the ministry, and of his intercourse with Christians and the world during a considerable portion of his life. To every Christian, to every Dissenter, and especially to every Dissenting Teacher, we consider it as a valuable acquisition. And if every student who leaves our Dissenting academies, were to furnish himself with a copy of it, he might find the stock of experience which it contains, of nearly as much importance to him as a body of divinity. An accurate idea of its valuable contents can scarcely be formed from the title, and so miscellaneous are the subjects of which it treats, that we can attempt no abridgement or analysis of them. As a specimen however, we quote the *Contents of Section II.*

\* Of the pernicious effects of Tale-bearing, of judging and speaking rashly, &c.—The effects of a tattling disposition. Professedly lamenting over the imperfections of others, one way of indulging a tattling disposition. The extent of the Christian precepts respecting evil speaking. Be slow to speak. Imprudent characters in a church tend much to perplex it, and disturb its comforts. Of speaking unguardedly of other sects. On the unqualified abuse of writers whose sentiments are partially incorrect. Evil-speaking compatible, in a certain degree, with speaking the truth. Some cases in which men are apt to judge rashly and inaccurately of others. The necessity of caution in receiving information respecting other sects, especially when it comes from their opponents.\*

In this Section are many important remarks, highly worthy of the attention especially of our clerical readers. From Number XXXIV. we select the following judicious remarks on a character by much too common in this country.

\* But there is a *fourth* way of disseminating error, on the part of public teachers, which is, I believe, more dangerous than even open immorality. I allude to those cases where external decency and propriety of conduct are associated with a general carelessness and a conformity to the maxims and manners of the world. This has a most extensively pernicious influence. When a man is grossly immoral, others can scarcely be supposed to be deceived by him. His character is too manifest. Every one must see, that if there is any thing in Christianity at all, such a man is confessedly wrong. Nay,

that he is chargeable with the vilest hypocrisy, in assuming the character of a public teacher, as he can be influenced by no other motive than the worldly emolument of the office with which he is invested. But suppose a man, amiable in his temper, gentle in his habits, decorous in his manners, with a mixture of truth in his discourses, while at the same time he is a stranger to vital godliness, having never seen the absolute necessity of the salvation of the gospel, nor experienced that radical change of principle, which the belief of it produces: it is impossible to say, how much such a character is calculated to mislead and ruin souls. His conduct tends to make men substitute something in the room of Christianity, which is essentially different from it. But it is an imitation of it, and the closer the imitation of it, if it really be a counterfeit, the better it is fitted to mislead and deceive. The influence arising from the private intercourse, as well as public teaching, of such characters, is calculated to give quite false views of the radical difference between the spirit of the gospel, and the spirit even of the decent and sober part of the world. It tends to draw a veil over the peculiar doctrines of the word of God, and not only to obscure their glory, but to exclude from the mind every impression that the knowledge and belief of them is essentially necessary to our acceptance in the sight of God. It tends to diffuse a prejudice against the scriptural standard of Christian obedience; to annihilate that invariable regard to Christian principle, in all that we do, which the Apostles of our Lord so uniformly inculcate; and thus to fritter down those distinctions which they so constantly maintain. It has the awful tendency to make men imagine, that if they have a tolerably correct deportment in passing through life, it is enough, and that in this way all is safe for eternity,—one of the most dangerous errors that can possibly occupy the human mind.

‘ Many examples are to be met with, of the melancholy influence of such public teachers, where the inhabitants of whole districts are laid asleep under the most fatal delusion, and are steeled against every attempt to direct their attention to the Christianity of the word of God. Surely the thought of this, in connection with the awful responsibility of such as contribute to make men rest their future hopes on a false foundation, is calculated to excite, in those who profess to teach others, much watchfulness and prayer, and to lead them carefully to draw their instructions from the pure fountain of divine truth. Let them examine, with minute attention, the light in which things are represented in the scriptures, and let their discourses be a faithful copy of what is there contained. But it may be useful also to remind others, that whatever guilt is contracted by public teachers, it will not remove that of their hearers, if they should be misled by them, while they have the inspired standard in their hands, to which they should ever appeal.’ pp. 149—151.

We have remarked that this work has suggested to us some of the disadvantages of Established, and of the advantages of Dissenting Churches. We shall take the liberty of adverting to one or two of these. A voluntary society of Christians affords superior opportunities of understanding many parts of the Christian revelation. We do not wonder at the *Epistolary* part of the

New Testament being very unintelligible and uninteresting to many members of the Establishment. The Gospels they understand and venerate, but the Epistles are impenetrably obscure. To us the reason seems quite obvious. The letters of the Apostles to primitive believers, have no application to the characters or circumstances of the vast majority composing a worldly church. When a Churchman hears from the desk or the pulpit, an Apostle address "The Church of God, which is at Corinth, " to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints," he looks around him and says, "This is not the description of persons with whom I am associated, and who assemble for religious worship in this place. I cannot recognise the body of them as faithful or holy persons." When a member of a Christian church hears the same address, he perceives at once its application to the society with which he is connected. The society consists, not of those who occupy the same spot of ground called a parish, and who meet once a week in a particular house, in many instances for no better reason than because it is the place provided by the State; but of persons collected from various quarters by the preaching of the glorious Gospel, who appear to have found that Gospel the power of God to their salvation, and who voluntarily associate together for the purpose of obeying the commandments of Christ, and testifying their love to one another. A member of such a society is furnished with a key to the Epistles, more valuable than all the commentaries that were ever written on them. Whatever an Apostle said to a primitive church, he considers as addressed to himself and his Christian friends. He finds Apostolical letters as intelligible as Apostolical narratives; limited neither to place nor time, but constituting a part of the standing revelation of heaven, and embracing the circumstances of the children of God wherever they are scattered abroad.

A Dissenter has opportunities of obeying, as well as of understanding, the will of Christ, which cannot be found in connexion with an Established Church. We hesitate not to affirm, that not a few important precepts of the New Testament, are absolutely impracticable in the Establishment. Is it possible, for instance, in general, to follow our Lord's rule with regard to offences: Matth. xviii. 15, 87? Would not the very attempt to do so be laughed at? In the majority of instances, the person who should be so foolish as to try it, would either be turned to the door of the offender, or threatened with a civil prosecution, unless he desisted. The precept of Paul, "Purge out the old leaven," the Church of England every year confesses her inability to obey for want of 'a Godly discipline.'—"Let him that is taught in the word, communicate to him that teacheth in all good things," is set aside by the legal provision which is made

for the clergy. The choice of approved men for office-bearers, the confidential and endearing, because voluntary relation of pastor and flock, are things utterly unknown to the body of people composing a parish cure. They are advantages of which the members of a chartered religious corporation are entirely deprived, but which constitute only a part of the privileges of that fellowship which springs from principle and choice.

The very evils which sometimes occur in such communities, are designed to promote the advantage of those who are connected with them, and tend to confirm their confidence in the general principles by which they are regulated. In the church as planted by the Apostles themselves, there were occasionally "Debates, " envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, revellings, "tumults." These tried the faith and patience of the saints, and discovered the ungodly and the hypocrite. When at any time they occur again, it is only an evidence that our circumstances are similar to theirs. They remind us that we belong to the kingdom of heaven *on earth*. They bring to light the latent corruption of the heart, the suitableness of the laws of Christ to curb and destroy that corruption, and furnish the man of God with those practical views of the depravity of human nature, which enable him to address himself to every man's business and every man's bosom. On all these subjects, and on the importance of attending to them, these Sketches of Human Nature furnish much valuable instruction.

Our readers are not to infer, from the preceding reasonings, that this little work can be useful only to Dissenters. We believe it to be fitted for general usefulness. It is written in the very opposite of a spirit of party. It breathes the spirit of Christian candour and meekness throughout. While it instructs the Christian, when he is bound to argue, and when he is called to differ,—when it is his duty to contend for his rights and privileges, and when he may lawfully make a sacrifice to peace and charity ;—it uniformly inculcates, both by its language and its example, mutual forbearance, brotherly kindness, and Christian affection, on all the people of God. We cannot therefore better conclude our discussion, and take leave of Mr. Innes, than by recommending Number LVI. to the consideration both of Churchmen and Dissenters.

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Art. IX. *The Lament of Tasso.* By Lord Byron. 8vo. pp. 19.  
1s. 6d. Murray. 1817.

WE really think this eighteen-penny worth might have been given in with *Manfred*.

Lord Byron, when at Ferrara, visited the cell where Tasso was confined in the hospital of St. Anna, as a lunatic, by order of Duke Alphonso. An inscription over the cell, invites,

'unnecessarily,' says his lordship, 'the wonder and indignation of the spectator;—unnecessarily, indeed, since there is no reason to believe that his patron had any motive for confining the unhappy poet, but to provide for his safety and cure; a measure which unequivocal symptoms of mental derangement rendered not only justifiable but humane. Lord Byron has been pleased, however, on the authority of the apocryphal memoirs of Tasso, to represent the poet as the victim of inhuman oppression, occasioned by his too ambitious passion for the princess Leonora of Este, a story which appears to rest upon no rational foundation. This "Lament of Tasso," has no pretensions therefore to be received as any thing better than an idle fable. Of the condition of the fictitious Tasso under these circumstances, Lord Byron has been able to form a vigorous conception: the truth of character is, of course, altogether sacrificed.

Our readers will expect us to give an extract.

' Above me, hark ! the long and maniac cry  
 Of minds and bodies in captivity.  
 And hark ! the lash and the increasing howl,  
 And the half-inarticulate blasphemy !  
 There be some here with worse than frenzy foul,  
 Some who do still goad on the o'er laboured mind,  
 And dim the little light that's left behind  
 With needless torture as their tyrant will  
 Is wound up to the lust of doing ill :  
 With these and with their victims am I classed,  
 'Mid sounds and sights like these long years have passed ;  
 'Mid sights and sounds like these my life may close :  
 So let it be—for then I shall repose.

' I have been patient, let me be so yet ;  
 I had forgotten half I would forget,  
 But it revives—oh ! would it were my lot  
 To be forgetful as I am forgot !—  
 Feel I not wroth with those who bad me dwell  
 In this vast lazarus-house of many woes ?  
 Where laughter is not mirth, nor thought the mind,  
 Nor words a language, nor ev'n men mankind ;  
 Where cries reply to curses, shrieks to blows,  
 And each is tortured in his separate hell—  
 For we are crowded in our solitudes—  
 Many, but each divided by the wall,  
 Which echoes Madness in her babbling moods ;—  
 While all can hear, none heed his neighbour's call—  
 None ! save that One, the veriest wretch of all,  
 Who was not made to be the mate of these,  
 Nor bound between Distraction and Disease.' pp. 10—12.

Art. XI. *The History of the Church of Scotland, from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution : illustrating a most interesting Period of the Political History of Britain.* By George Cook, D.D. Minister of Laurencekirk. 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1457. Longman and Co. 1815.

(Concluded from p. 189.)

THE project of introducing an entire uniformity of religious worship into the British dominions, was transmitted by James, as a dangerous and unfortunate legacy, to his son Charles. This prince, though he expressed his intention to enforce the articles of Perth, as well as his approbation of the innovations made by his father, and established some important regulations respecting the temporal condition of the clergy, was, for some time, too much occupied with English and foreign affairs, to interfere with the religious opinions of his Scottish subjects. The tithes having been annexed to the Crown, James gave them as grants to his favourites, which occasioned great hardships to the proprietors of the soil, as well as to the clergy. To remedy these evils, the owners of the tithes were induced to surrender them ; the landholders were authorized to purchase them at a fixed value, and salaries were appointed to the ministers from the parish tithes. The favourable tendency of this equitable adjustment, was counteracted by many causes. Those who had relinquished the tithes, as they had lost their influence, were disposed to recover it by forming a union with the querulous and discontented. It was apprehended that the King would restore the estates that had been originally wrested from the Church. The conduct of the prelates, intemperately zealous for the innovations, haughty toward all ranks, and eager to ingratiate themselves with Laud, aggravated the popular discontent. The Presbyterians, supported by the nobles, and jealous of the power and wealth of the prelates, increased their influence among the people. In this state of the public mind, Charles had determined to prosecute his father's design of regulating public worship among the Scotch, by the forms of the English Church ; but from some causes he suspended his resolution till he visited his native kingdom in 1633. Having been crowned in Edinburgh, he held a parliament.

Soon after his father ascended the throne of England, an act had been passed in Scotland, declaratory of the extent of the royal prerogative ; and, in three years after, another act was sanctioned respecting the habits of churchmen, concluding with this extraordinary concession, that whatever in this matter should be ordained by his Majesty, should, without the intervention of the estates, have the force of a law. The concession, as is evident from the statute, was intended as a compliment to the wisdom of James, but was not de-

signed to confer a general power upon his successors. Full of the designs of Laud to introduce into the church the utmost splendour of dress, and to burden divine worship with ceremonies little consonant to the spiritual nature of Christianity, Charles was anxious that the privilege which has been mentioned, and which his father wisely never exercised, should be given to him. To gratify him, the lords of the articles combined, in one act, the two statutes to which I have alluded; but when the new law was read in parliament, it was encountered by a determined spirit of resistance. The Earl of Rothes conducted the opposition. He expressed his perfect acquiescence in the renewal of the act relating to the prerogative, but he insisted that it should not be combined with the other which had been incorporated with it; urging, that the part of the law regulating the habits of churchmen, was inconsistent with the liberties of the church, and ought not, without its concurrence, to be enacted. The king was much offended with this conduct of Rothes, which he probably supposed that his own presence would have prevented; he refused to accede to the reasonable proposal which that nobleman had made, and commanded him to desist from reasoning, and simply to give his vote. Having repeated this injunction to the other lords who supported Rothes, he took into his own hand a list of the members, and marked their votes. The majority was hostile to the court, and Charles could not fail to know, from the paper which he held, that this was the case. The clerk of parliament, however, whose office it was to announce the decision, scandalously affirmed, that the act, as presented, was approved; and when Rothes denied this, the king, instead of acting with the dignity and honour which might have been expected even from the humblest individual, gave his sanction to the falsehood of the clerk: and maintained, that as it was a capital crime to corrupt the records of parliament, they who accused another of doing so, must, if they failed in establishing the charge, be subjected to the punishment of death. It was too hazardous for the lords to support an accusation which the whole royal influence would be exerted to suppress; and the act, which had been really rejected, was held to be confirmed by the estates.' p. 339—341, Vol. II.

While many of the nobles were dissatisfied with the King's unconstitutional measures, the ministers presented a petition respecting the state of the Church. As his Majesty treated it with neglect, and appeared determined to introduce ceremonies which they abhorred, they were quite alienated from the Government; and the iniquitous condemnation of Lord Balmerino, together with the elevation of the clergy to the principal offices of the State, inflamed minds already in a state of irritation.

The extreme discontent which prevailed under the appearance of tranquillity, broke out, when the canons, which it had been resolved to compile while the King was in Scotland, were published by royal authority. This step was considered as a most arbitrary exertion of the prerogative: many of the ceremonies enjoined were thought favourable to Popery, as well as a gross

violation of the principles cherished by the Scots. The canons enforced the observance of the liturgy, which, as the liturgy was not even composed, appeared not less absurd than vexatious. It was pretended that no innovation was introduced by the canons, which, being notoriously false, brought the King into discredit, and prevented confidence being placed in his subsequent concessions. The fermentation excited by the canons, had begun to subside, when the publication of the liturgy produced a tumult. This measure, which occasioned the following convulsions, was owing to Spottiswoode, a memorable example of the slight causes on which important events depend.

‘In execution of the powers given to the commission for tithes, Spottiswoode was preparing to fix the emoluments of the clergy within his diocese, a step which deeply affected the interest of those to whom the teinds had been given in lease, whilst it materially promoted his own. Traquair, eager to thwart the primate in this plan, procured a suspension of the commission; and the archbishop, irritated at the interference, determined to repair to court, to exert his influence that the commission might be renewed. To render himself acceptable to the king, and to Laud, he saw the importance of gratifying both, by being able to convey information that the liturgy had been renewed, and upon the arrival of the letters for that purpose, he caused an intimation to be made from the pulpits, that, on the succeeding Sunday, the book of prayer should be read.’ p. 374-5, Vol. II.

‘Upon the day which had been specified, immense numbers of the inhabitants of Edinburgh went to the church of St. Giles, in which the chancellor, some of the lords of the council, and several of the bishops, had taken their seats. The utmost quietness prevailed, till the dean, having opened the liturgy, began to read, when the multitude, losing all respect for the place in which they were, and the solemn work in which they were engaged, raised such a clamour, that the prayers could not be heard. The bishop of Edinburgh, hoping to appease it, went into the pulpit, and entreated the people to reflect upon the sacredness of the house of God, and upon the duty which they owed to God and to their sovereign. This address rendered them more outrageous: stones, and whatever they could use for the purpose, were thrown at the dean, and the bishop himself narrowly escaped being wounded or killed by a stool, which was furiously aimed at him. The primate then called upon the magistrates to interfere, who, with much difficulty, by entreaties and by force, succeeded in restoring momentary order. The dean resumed his ungracious office; but the women, or men in the dress of women, though they had been thrust from the church, renewed their activity: they exclaimed, with the utmost vehemence, “A pope, a pope: Antichrist, pull him down; stone him.” They knocked at the doors, broke the windows, and seemed resolved to proceed to the most dreadful excesses. Amidst this noise and consternation, the service terminated. When the bishops left the church, they were followed by the multitudes, who, in the most opprobrious language, charged

them with bringing into the kingdom Popery and slavery. The bishop of Edinburgh, who was regarded with peculiar antipathy, was almost dragged from a staircase which he had ascended, and was, at length, rescued by the servants of the Earl of Wemyss. A meeting of council was held between sermons, at the house of the chancellor. The provost and magistrates attended; and such precautions were taken, that divine worship was, in the afternoon, much more quietly performed. No sooner, however, was it concluded, than the people recommenced their outrages; and having discovered that the Earl of Roxburgh had taken the bishop of Edinburgh into his carriage, they attacked it, endeavoured to tear it in pieces, and would probably have injured or sacrificed those who were in it, had not the attendants of Roxburgh, with their swords, compelled them to retire.

'Similar scenes were exhibited in different parts of the city. Wherever the liturgy was attempted to be read, commotion immediately ensued; and the clergymen who officiated were forced to desist.' pp 376—378, Vol. II.

Though the populace alone appeared in the tumult, their cause was so generally supported, that all attempts to press the liturgy were suspended, till positive orders should be received from Court. The Presbyterian clergy applauded the opposition, which spread to such a degree, that the prelates trembled for their safety. A petition was presented to the council by some of the ministers, praying that they might not be compelled to renounce their principles. The council were disposed to attend to the petitioners; but the King sent a harsh and peremptory order to enforce the liturgy. Not intimidated, the malecontents presented, in the name of the nobles, barons, ministers, and representatives of boroughs, a common supplication, entreating that the matter might be laid before the King. The minds of men became increasingly hostile to the innovations. Proclamations issued for dispersing the vast concourse of people that had collected at Edinburgh, led the Presbyterians to adopt decided measures. Nobles, gentry, and ministers, framed a declaration, condemning the offensive books, and sent it through the kingdom to be signed by all that were averse to innovation. Meanwhile, insubordination and violence prevailed in the metropolis, and spread into all quarters. So great was the weakness of the Government, that they were obliged to implore the protection of the factious leaders against the insults of the mob. While, from the feebleness of administration, the malecontents had reason to anticipate success, they drew the attention of the council to a strong petition which they had formed against the liturgy and canons. This was accompanied with another, in the name of all the men, women, children, and servants of the capital. Charles however paid little or no attention to the real state of affairs; but confiding in the vigour of his prerogative, he issued proclamations, which, as they granted nothing, only induced the Presby-

terians to persevere in their efforts. They appointed a deputation to attend the council, from which the prelates, as their claims and privileges were disregarded, had withdrawn, and the members of which favoured the petitioners. The Earl of Traquair was summoned to inform the King of the state of affairs; but he represented in vain, that if the hateful books were not laid aside, nothing would regain the affection of the people. On his return, Traquair issued a proclamation, offering pardon for the late acts of violence, vindicating the innovations, prohibiting tumultuous assemblies, and promising that the King would listen to respectful supplications from his subjects. Against this impolitic proclamation, the Presbyterians, resolved to obtain by force what they could not procure by entreaty, published a vigorous protest, and having abjured the King's authority, established a new form of government, under the name of Tables, consisting of persons chosen from the four classes of nobles, gentry, ministers, and burgesses. A general Table, composed of representatives from the subordinate Tables, decided on what was necessary to be executed. To preserve the enthusiasm of the people, they framed the famous Covenant, in which they avowed their purpose of resistance. This expedient succeeded marvellously.

'It was at length submitted for the approbation or subscription of the people, and the first trial was made in the metropolis. In the church of the Grey Friars an immense multitude assembled. The confession or covenant having been read, the Earl of Loudon, in an impressive oration, dwelt upon its vast importance as a bond of union, whilst Henderson, with all the fervour of zeal, and all the effect of popular eloquence, prayed to heaven for a blessing. The feelings of the people were excited—they looked on the Covenant as the instrument of their deliverance,—with joyful exclamations they hastened to share in the honour of attaching to it their names.' pp. 416, 417.  
Vol. II.

When Spottiswoode heard of this ebullition of enthusiasm, he exclaimed: 'Now all that we have been doing these thirty years past is at once thrown down.' The example of the capital was generally followed, and those who offered resistance were compelled to yield to the torrent.

As the council were in part favourable to the Covenanters, instead of taking measures to oppose them, they despatched Sir John Hamilton to inform the King of the posture of things, and to recommend concessions. His Majesty, being prevented by the necessity of his affairs from enforcing his own acts, and by the bigotry of his mind from restoring the Presbyterian polity, adopted a middle course, and resolved to concede a little in hopes of dividing his enemies. He appointed the Marquis of Hamilton his commissioner, with instructions of such a nature, as necessarily rendered his mission useless. When the Covenanters heard of his appointment, they took measures to coun-

teract the influence which he might have on their cause. Hamilton, who was extremely mortified on finding that in his progress he was as little noticed as a private individual, that he was neglected by the people, and feebly supported or opposed by the servants of the Crown, perceived that to execute his commission would excite rebellion. Having stated his conviction to Charles, his Majesty, though inclined to war, ordered the Marquis not to denounce the Covenanters as traitors, till he should be supported by sufficient forces. In his conferences with the factious leaders, the limited nature of the Commissioner's concessions, effaced the impressions that were made by his mild and patriotic professions; and when he learned their demand of a general assembly to determine questions of ecclesiastical polity, with a parliament to ratify its proceedings, and their resolution as soon to renounce their baptism as the covenant, he saw that recourse must be had to arms. Having endeavoured to mollify opposition, by restoring the Court of Session to Edinburgh, the Commissioner ordered the King's proclamation to be read, and, although it did not allude to the most objectionable topics, a protest was entered against it by deputies from the Tables.

The Marquis returned to London, and, as the result of his interview with the King, was authorized to make fresh concessions. Meanwhile, the Covenanters were indefatigable in stimulating opposition, and when Hamilton returned from Court, they had risen in their demands. They insisted on a free assembly.

" In the discussions, however, to which this subject gave rise, a point was agitated which nearly dissolved the harmony by which the covenanters had hitherto been distinguished. One of the conditions upon which the King insisted was, that the commissioners from presbyteries should be chosen by the ministers of the respective presbyteries only, and that no lay-person whatever should interfere in the choice. The committee appointed by the tables to give an answer, replied, that none should meddle with the election of commissioners from presbyteries but ministers and elders. When this was communicated to the clergy, many of them hesitated about permitting elders to sit, not merely in sessions, but in presbyteries, perceiving that this would transfer to the laity the power of determining who should be elected to the Assembly. They therefore required that the mode of expression should be altered, and that it should be stated, in general, that the right of election was to be vested in those in whom, by law or custom, it had previously resided. This left the privileges of lay-elders open for future consideration; but the tables of nobility, barons, and burgesses, were highly offended by the alteration, and threatened to desert the cause if the original resolution was not sanctioned. The ministers were naturally reluctant to surrender their independence, but the dread of laying themselves open to the intrigues or the power of the bishops, led them to yield, and the vote of elders in presbyteries was thus finally established." pp. 442-443. Vol. II.

With a view of fomenting division, Hamilton again went to Court, and advised to grant all that had been originally demanded; but though the King reluctantly yielded to his advice, he could not satisfy the Covenanters.

'The various acts of concession were, after the breaking up of the council, regularly proclaimed; and it was with much reason hoped that moderate men would be contented, and would resist any endeavours to thwart the intentions of the King. A protestation, however, replete with the most disingenuous reasoning, and evincing the determination of the leading covenanters to resist all terms, was read.' pp. 450—451. Vol. II.

While many, satisfied with the concessions made by the King, subscribed his covenant, the Covenanters pretended that his Majesty was insincere, and employed various artifices, and some of the basest description, to inflame the multitude.

'A woman, warmly attached to the covenant, happened to be d with insanity, or with an aberration of intellect and perversion of imagination nearly approaching to it; and in this state she inveighed, with much vehemence, against signing the King's confession, talking of the covenant as the work of God. Advantage was taken of her melancholy situation; many did not hesitate to affirm that she was inspired; and that the warnings which she uttered should be revered as the dictates of heaven.' pp. 453—454. Vol. II.

The Covenanters procured the election of such members to the General Assembly, as were determined to support their designs, and the Assembly proceeded with the most unjustifiable violence against the prelates. Embarrassed by the opposition of the members of council, the commissioner found that a union of parties was impossible, the bishops having declined the jurisdiction of the Assembly; and perceiving that the Covenanters were determined to carry their measures in defiance of royal authority, he dissolved the meeting. Though further proceedings were prohibited under pain of treason, the faction informed the Marquis, that they would continue to sit as a free and legal Assembly; and, accordingly, by a number of acts they restored the Church to the state in which it was before the Presbyterian polity was subverted. Thus was thrown down in an instant, what James and his son had for so many years been erecting with so much pains and so little wisdom. Hamilton's proclamation denouncing as traitors all who continued to attend the meeting at Glasgow, was entirely disregarded; while with the acts of the Assembly there was a general compliance.

A civil war was now unavoidable, and the advantages soon appeared on the side of the Covenanters, who, at once prudent and vigorous, softened, by professions of moderation, the natural hostility of the English, while they were supported by the irresistible enthusiasm of the nation. Charles, with an empty exchequer, with subjects more disposed to improve the commotions

for the redress of their grievances, than to enable him to recover his authority, and with troops lukewarm and undisciplined, was soon obliged to treat with the malecontents. To the King the issue of the treaty was very unfortunate ; and the Covenanters, dreading that he would attempt on the first opportunity, to recover what had been wrested from him, remained full of suspicion, distrust, and caution. As the concessions which Traquair, the King's Commissioner in the Assembly held conformably to the treaty, had made, were far from being satisfactory to Charles, he, in fact, determined to renew the contest, when the demands of the faction should evidently appear unreasonable. This opportunity soon occurred ; hostilities were renewed, and the result was, that the Covenanters gained all that they wished, the fate of the war having been determined by the defeat of part of the English army, and the taking of Newcastle. Negotiations begun at Ripon, were carried to London, and protracted to an unusual length, by the artifices of the leaders in the English parliament, who availed themselves of the presence of the Scots, to further their plans of reformation. At last, the Covenanters concluded the treaty on the most advantageous terms. While they were paid for taking arms against their sovereign, they obtained the full establishment of their religious polity. The King, who appeared soon after in his native kingdom, ratified, in parliament, all the acts that sanctioned the Presbyterian discipline ; and, from this period to the reduction of Scotland by Cromwell, it remained in its full vigour, and was diffused in many districts of the sister kingdoms.

The affairs of the Covenanters, in themselves extremely curious and instructive, had, from the first, a great influence on all the transactions of that period—the meeting of the long parliament, the innovations in the government of Church and State, the rise, progress, and termination of the civil wars, the execution of the King, and the subversion of the monarchy. This influence Dr. Cook has traced with laudable diligence and acuteness. He has placed some of the incidents of this period in a new light, and exhibited some of the agents with greater fairness ; as, for example, the delivery of Charles to the English Parliament, and the character of Henderson. This part of the present work will be interesting to those who wish to be intimately acquainted with the most eventful portion of our history.

After Cromwell had defeated the Scotch army at Dunbar, while the body of the nation determined on fresh measures for preserving the national independence, a faction, hostile to Charles the Second, favoured Cromwell ; and though as a body they were quickly dissipated, they encouraged dissensions in the Church. Acts of the Assembly, tending to unite all persons in the national defence, induced them to protest. Cromwell,

In order to preserve his government from embarrassment, prohibited the holding of General Assemblies, but in other respects he gave the Presbyterians entire liberty. This season however was not improved, for the protesters persisted in their complaints and opposition.

‘ The majority of the clergy acted in this delicate emergency with the utmost moderation. Aware of the unhappy effects which would result from division, and eager to unite, they attempted to conciliate their brethren, and made every concession which did not imply the subversion of presbyterian polity. But this calmness inflamed, if possible, the violence of their adversaries. They paid little attention to the representation of the calamities which their obstinacy would occasion ; they evaded the argument derived from their oath to submit to the General Assembly, by declaring, that they considered the Assemblies of which they complained, as shackled and corrupted ; and they began to act in a manner, which shews how readily men can render religious principles subservient to the gratification of passions which religion restrains or condemns. They appealed to the people, asserting that they were guided by the purest motives, and with disingenuity and hypocrisy much to be lamented, but which are too frequent in the history of the church ; arrogated to themselves the appellation of the godly, insinuating or affirming, that all who opposed them were men of depraved principles, or not influenced by the spirit of the gospel. They collected numbers of ministers, elders, and private Christians in meetings not recognized by the church, and after prayer, by any disposed to offer it, and a confession of sins, they discussed topics upon which the established judicatories alone were competent to decide, and even blamed what these judicatories had sanctioned. This was plainly schismatical, and displayed a turbulence most unbecoming the character of the ministers of peace. That they might, however, not appear in open rebellion to the constitution which they had held forth as prescribed by Scripture, they offered to obey the commission of the last General Assembly, which they acknowledged ; and, in name of this body, which had no title to act, published their defiance of all which they were required to obey. But to raise their popularity, they had recourse to methods, which, in a religious point of view were perhaps still more exceptionable. In celebrating the Lord’s supper, they departed from the decent mode which had been prescribed, and which required that the minister of each parish should dispense it ; and assembling immense multitudes from contiguous parishes, they employed the most fervent of the clergy to deliver numerous sermons ; they affected a gloominess of devotion, which has often been identified with the homage due to a merciful Creator ; they inflamed the prejudices and the enthusiastical zeal of those who listened to them ; and they thus rendered an ordinance, graciously intended to be the bond of charity, instrumental in cherishing the worst dispositions, and in withdrawing their flocks from those pastors who adhered to the church. The manner in which they conducted divine worship, was adapted to convey the idea, that they were favoured with peculiar communications of the spirit ; they even

altered the natural tone of the human voice, that they might inspire religious horror; and when they had thus made themselves to be regarded as the chosen servants of God, they declaimed against the sad defection and corruption of the judicatories of the church. When they had gained a decided ascendancy over the minds of the people, they began to withdraw from their more moderate brethren, and, associating in presbyteries, conducted their proceedings as if they had been exclusively vested with ecclesiastical power.

Such systematic opposition to the discipline which they affected to revere, could not have been continued, had not the authority of government been relaxed, and had they not been supported by those commissioners from the English parliament, who really administered the affairs of Scotland. Violent as had been their abhorrence of sectaries, and strongly as they had, even since the flight of the King, expressed that abhorrence, their enmity to Charles formed a tie, which united the protesters with the commonwealth. The friends of Cromwell considered them as more worthy of confidence, than the ministers who still professed a regard for the exiled monarch; and they readily listened to their requests and representations. Thus aided by the commissioners, who were invested with power to remove or to confirm ministers according to their political sentiments, the protesters interfered with the nomination of pastors; objected, without respect to the wishes of the people or the piety of the person, to all who were not of their own party; and with the most arbitrary and oppressive officiousness, often ejected incumbents, who had long been settled, and whose exemplary lives they did not venture to dispute. They succeeded in procuring from the English judges and sequestrators, an order that no minister should be entitled to the emoluments of his benefice, till he produced a certificate, subscribed by four clergymen, authorized to grant it: and they thus got into their own hands the patronage of the greater number of livings.' pp. 212—215. Vol. III.

The divisions that prevailed in the Church during the Protectorate, were succeeded, on the Restoration, by a series of most disgraceful persecutions. When it had been resolved to restore episcopacy in Scotland, in order to avoid opposition, violence was directed against the protesters, while the moderate ministers were lulled into security. These were not displeased to see the protesters humbled; but a letter which Sharp; whom they had entrusted with the management of their affairs, but who had betrayed them, brought from the king, assuring them of his resolution to preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as by law established, gave them entire satisfaction. After this assurance, all men were filled with astonishment, when an act was passed in parliament, declaring null and void all the acts of that Assembly, since 1640. The Presbyterian polity was thus at once overthrown. Of the conduct of government at this period, as impolitic as it was unprincipled, Dr. Cook expresses a becoming abhorrence. Apprehensive of commotion, the King was inclined to acquiesce in the present ecclesiastical polity of Scotland; but, at the instigation of his ministers, he authorized the proper steps

to be taken for the establishment of episcopacy. This order was immediately executed ; bishops were appointed, the Presbyterian discipline was suspended, and prelacy received once more the sanction of the legislature. In recording these events, our Author evidently feels regret that the free and generous sentiments of the reformers and covenanters should have degenerated into such tame and servile compliance with the measures of an arbitrary and tyrannical administration. Episcopacy, as now established, was different from that which had existed in the times of James and his successor.

‘ During the period through which bishops were formerly recognized, they were regarded only as the constant moderators of the different ecclesiastical judicatories ; these judicatories regularly assembled, and conducted much of the business of the church. The idea, that they entirely depended upon the bishops, was never introduced, or was steadily resisted ; and great efforts were requisite to procure their sanction to the privileges which were claimed for the prelates. But Charles, by the exertion of his prerogative, without the slightest regard to the wishes of the church, and indeed without preserving even the appearance of consulting it, introduced episcopacy in a form from which his ancestors would have shrunk ; and gave to bishops the power of deciding whether presbyteries should be held at all, or of limiting the extent of their jurisdiction.’ pp. 249, 250. Vol. III.

The sequel of this history, which details the severe and tyrannical measures adopted in support of the hierarchy, and the cruelties, oppression, and barbarities employed to subdue the constancy of the Presbyterians, possesses a truly tragic interest. Although our Author draws his information from the purest sources, and preserves his mind remarkably free from those biasses which scenes of tyranny and unmerited suffering give to the steadiest intellect, a deep abhorrence of the government, and commiseration for its unhappy victims, will be the predominant sentiments in the minds of his readers.

In ages of profligacy and corruption, it is refreshing to meet with an individual of uncommon virtue. Accordingly, Dr. Cook dwells with feelings of extreme pleasure on the virtues of the venerable prelate Leighton, who availed himself of all his influence, to mitigate the severity of oppression.

When the bigotry and tyranny of James the Second made way for the accession of the Prince of Orange to the British throne, the latter was inclined to continue the episcopal polity in Scotland. His views, however, were soon changed by the influence of his chaplain Carstairs, who represented, that while the Episcopalian were hostile to the Revolution, it was universally approved by the Presbyterians ; that in Scotland episcopacy was so interwoven with the doctrines of Divine right, royal supremacy, and passive obedience, as to render its ex-

istence incompatible with the object of his coming; and that while he countenanced his friends, by agreeing to establish Presbytery among the Scots, he would shew the English Dissenters, that his conduct to them arose from necessity rather than choice. William accordingly acquiesced in the clause of the claim of rights that abolished episcopacy, and an act was passed in the Assembly of the States, June, 1689, which accomplished that object. But when the Presbyterians were found not to observe in their treatment of the episcopal party, the moderate and conciliating principles which this Prince had recommended, he was highly irritated, and an incident occurred that threatened to overturn the Presbyterian constitution. The enemies of the Presbyterians having procured an act requiring all persons to take what was called the oath of allegiance and assurance, the ministers resisted the innovation, and the King, ignorant of the ferment, and following the advice of the Scottish council, ordered the oath to be taken by all the members of the ensuing Assembly.

‘Lord Carmichael having found the ministers resolute, had thought it his duty to convey this intelligence to London; but the King was inflexible, confirmed in his determination by the Earl of Stair and Lord Tarbet, who now represented the obstinacy of the clergy as rebellion.

‘Happily Carstairs, who had been absent from court, arrived at Kensington at the critical moment when the messenger, conveying his Majesty’s mandate, was dispatched. He formed the bold resolution, as the only method for preventing the most disastrous events, of stopping the courier. Having done so, and got possession of the papers, he hastened to the King’s bed-room, and, having awakened him, told what he had done. William was at first violently enraged; but Carstairs represented so powerfully the wisdom of conciliating the Presbyterians, who, however misled, were not acting from disaffection, that his Majesty was convinced. He commanded Carstairs to burn the dispatches, and to draw up such instructions to the commissioners, as would secure the affections of the people of Scotland. These instructions he subscribed, and they reached Edinburgh on the day of the sitting of the Assembly. The joy diffused by the intelligence that the King was to dispense with the assurance, may be more easily conceived than it can be described.’ pp. 456, 457. Vol. III.

Dr. Cook’s style would gain both in grace and energy, if it were more condensed. In the early parts of this history, more particularly, it must be deemed a blemish that so large a space is allotted to civil affairs. Though we acquiesce in general in the justness, and sometimes admire the acuteness, of Dr. Cook’s reflections, yet it would seem that they are more frequent and extended than is consistent with the rules of historical composition, as deduced from the best models of ancient and modern times.

## ART. XII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

\* \* Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.

Miss Lucy Aikin is preparing for the press, "Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth," comprising a minute view of her domestic life, and notices of the manners, amusements, arts, and literature of her reign—The present work is composed upon the plan of uniting with the personal history of a celebrated female sovereign, and a connected narration of the domestic events of her reign, a large portion of biographical anecdote, private memoir, and traits illustrative of an interesting period of English history. Original letters, speeches, and occasional poems are largely interspersed.

Mr. Accum has in the press, Chemical Amusements; comprising a series of curious and instructive experiments, easily performed, and unattended by danger.

An octavo edition of Mawe's Travels in the Brazils, will be published shortly.

Preparing for publication, the poetical Remains and Memoirs of the late Dr. John Leyden.

The third volume of the Personal Narrative of M. De Humboldt's Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent; during the years 1799-1804, translated by Helen Maria Williams, is nearly ready.

The Knight of St. John, a Romance. By Miss Anna Maria Porter, Author of the Recluse of Norway, &c. 3 vols. 12mo.

Preparing for publication, in one volume, Memoirs of Mrs. Savage, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Philip Henry, with interesting extracts from her diary and papers. By J. B. Williams.

Mr. J. N. Brewer is preparing Collections towards a Biographical Account of the late Hugh, Duke of Northumberland.

The fourth edition of Mr. Moore's Poem of Lalla Rookh, is now on sale.

Mr. R. Southey is preparing for the

press, a third volume of the History of Brazil.

Shortly will be published, handsomely printed in quarto, with a portrait of his Lordship, from an original by Romney, the Life of Richard Watson, Lord Bishop of Llandaff, written by himself at different intervals, and revised in 1814. Published by his Son, Richard Watson, LL.B. Prebendary of Llandaff and Wells.

An Essay on the Chemical History and Medical Treatment of Calculous Disorders, with Plates, by Alexander Marcet, M.D. F.R.S. is in the press, and may be expected shortly.

Miss Benger is preparing for the press, Memoirs, with a Selection from the Correspondence and other unpublished Writings of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton, Author of Letters on Education, Agrippina, &c. In two volumes, crown octavo.

In October will appear, a Universal History, translated from the German of John Müller, in 3 vols. 8vo. This work is not a mere compendium of Universal History, but contains a philosophical inquiry into the moral, and more especially the political, causes, which have given rise to the most important revolutions in the history of the human race.

A new edition, much enlarged, of a Treatise on the Nature and Cure of the Gout and Rheumatism, by Dr. Scudamore, is just ready.

Dr. John Mayo proposes to publish some Remarks on Insanity, in addition to those already published by Dr. Thomas Mayo.

Dr. Uwins, Physician to the City and Caledonian Dispensaries, will commence a Course of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Medicine, at his house, No. 1, Thavies Inn, Holborn, on Friday, the 3d of October, at seven o'clock in the evening precisely. And in the Spring, Dr. Uwins will commence

a Course of Lectures on Materia Medica and Pharmacy.

In the course of the present month will be published, Part I. of an Edition of the Hebrew Bible, without Points, to be completed in Four Parts; it is uniform with the Hebrew Bible with Points, that was published in May last: either of these Bibles may be had interpaged with English, Greek, or Latin; and thus conjoined, will not, when bound, exceed one inch in thickness, or, as a Hebrew Bible alone, half an inch.

Shortly will appear, a new edition of the *Abridgement of Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary*, revised by J. Carey, LL.D.

Mr. Moir, an indefatigable compiler of several useful publications, announces another selection, under the title of *Curious and Interesting Subjects of History, Antiquity, and Science*, containing the earliest information of the most remarkable Cities of Antient and Modern Times, their Customs, Architecture, &c. &c.

A new and enlarged edition of Mr. Bruce's *Juvenile Anecdotes*, will be ready for publication in a few days.

Also, a cheap edition, somewhat abridged, for the use of Sunday Schools.

The Rev. T. Johnstone is printing in a duodecimo volume, a History of Berwick-upon-Tweed and its vicinity, including a compendium of border history.

The Works of the Rev. Oliver Heywood, with an account of his life, are preparing for the press, and will form four octavo volumes.

The late Mr. R. L. Edgeworth has left some Memoirs of his Life, which will soon be given to the public.

The Theological Works of Dr. Isaac Barrow are printing at Oxford, in six octavo volumes.

Mr. Hogg will soon publish the fifth edition of his *Queen's Wake*, illustrated by the artists of Edinburgh.

The *Essay on Public Credit*, by David Hume, is reprinting, with observations

on the sound and prophetic nature of its principles.

Mr. Pope will soon publish a corrected edition of his *Abridgement of the Laws of Customs and Excise*, including all the alterations made in the last Session of Parliament.

The first volume of the *Oxford Encyclopaedia, or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, is just published, price 2*l.* in boards. The work will be comprised in five volumes, 4*to.* or 25 parts, price 8*s.* each.

Speedily will be published, in one vol. 8*vo.* a *Practical Enquiry into the Causes of the frequent Failure of the Operations of extracting and depressing the Cataract*, and the description of a new and improved series of Operations, by the practice of which most of these causes of failure may be avoided. Illustrated by Tables of the comparative success of the old and new operations, by Sir William Adams.

Professor Orfila, author of the *Treatise on Animal, Mineral, and Vegetable Poisons*, has in the press, an elementary work on Chemistry: an English Translation will appear soon after the publication of the original. From the situation which Dr. Orfila holds, as teacher of the science of Chemistry in Paris, together with his correspondence with Professors in this and other countries, the work may be expected to contain all the modern discoveries in chemistry; and it will therefore form a useful book for students.

In the press, and speedily will be published, a *Reply to the Rev. Mr. Mathias's (of Dublin) Enquiry into the Doctrines of the Reformation, or a right convincing and conclusive Confutation of Calvinism*. To which is subjoined, *Ieropaeida, or the true Method of instructing the Clergy of the Established Church, being a wholesome Theological Cathartic to purge the Church of the Pre-destinarian Pestilence*, by a Clergyman of the Church of England.

### Art. XIII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

#### ANTIQUITIES.

*British Monachism*; or, Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England. To which are added, I. *Peregrinatorum Religiosum*: or Manners and Customs of antient Pilgrims.—II. *Consuetudinal of Anchorets and Hermits*.—III. Account of the Conti-

nentes, or women who had made vows of chastity.—IV. Four select Poems, in various styles. By Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke, M.A. F.S.A. Author of the *History of Gloucestershire*, &c. 1 vol. 4*to.* price 3 guineas. Illustrated with numerous plates of Ecclesiastical Costumes, including 40 subjects drawn by J. Carter, F.S.A. A very few copies

are printed on Large Paper, and hot-pressed, price 5l. 5s.

**BIOGRAPHY.**

*The Sexagenarian; or, the Recollections of a Literary Life.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s. boards.

*Dr. Watkins's Memoirs of the Right Hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan; the Second and concluding Part, embellished with a finely engraved Portrait of the present Mrs. Sheridan, after Sir Joshua Reynolds.* 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d.

*Memoirs of the late Miss Emma Humphries, of Frome, with a Series of Letters to Young Ladies, on the influence of Religion in the formation of character, &c.* By T. East. 6s.

**BOTANY.**

*A Botanical description of British Plants, in the Midland counties, particularly of those in the Neighbourhood of Alcester; with occasional Notes and Observations: to which is prefixed, a short Introduction to the Study of Botany, and to the Knowledge of the principal Natural Orders.* By T. Purton, Surgeon, Alcester. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. boards. With eight coloured engravings, by James Sowerby, F. L. S.

**EDUCATION.**

*Systematic Education; or, Elementary Instruction in the various Departments of Literature and Science, with Practical Rules for studying each Branch of Useful Knowledge.* By the Rev. W. Shepherd, the Rev. J. Joyce, and the Rev. Lant Carpenter, LLD. The second edition improved, 1l. 11s. 6d. boards.

**FINE ARTS.**

*Vol. III. of The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; with Biographical Anecdotes.* By John Nichols, F.S.A. and the late George Stevens, F.R.S. and F.S.A. Containing *Clavis Hogarthiana*, and other Illustrative Essays; with Fifty additional Plates. 4to. 4l. 4s. Large Paper, 6l. 6s.

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separate distribution, in 8vo. embellished with a Portrait, price 4s.

*The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius.* Translated by William Wilkins, jun. M.A. Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, &c. Part 2, elephant 4to. 3l. 3s. royal folio, 6l. 6s. boards.

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*An Abridgement of Universal History, commencing with the Creation, and carried down to the Peace of Paris in 1763; in which the Descent of all Nations from their common Ancestor is traced, the course of Colonization is marked, the Progress of the Arts and Sciences noticed, and the whole Story of Mankind is reviewed, as connected with the moral Government of the World, and the revealed Dispensation.* By the Rev. E. W. Whitaker, Rector of St. Mildred's, Canterbury. 2 vols. 4to. 8l. 8s. boards.

*Ormerod's History of Cheshire, Part IV.*

*History of Berwick upon Tweed, with historical notices of the neighbouring villages, including a compendium of Border History, with a plan of the town.* By the Rev. Thos. Johnstone. 12mo.

**MATHEMATICS.**

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**MISCELLANEOUS.**

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